





Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a signature or date, located below the woodcut frame.
Domino. Josu crystno

 To the reader.

 This boke of householde, full of high
wysedome, written by the noble philoso-
pher Xenophon, the scholer of Socrates,
the whiche for his swete eloquence, and in-
credible facilitie, was surnamed Musa At-
tica, that is to say, the songe of Athenes :
is righte counnyngly translated out of the
greke tonge into English he, by Gentian
Heruet, ~~with the assistance of~~
~~John~~, whiche boke for the welthe of this
realme, I deme very profitable to be redde.

It is to be taken to you
that hath no neede thereof
by experience but to take
thereon for your profit:
to see if you shall be of my
purpose that you are
now come to be good
and happy.

☞ Xenophons treatise of
housebolde.



Harde vpon a time
the wise Socrates
cōmune of the oz-
dypng of an house,
speakyng to one
Critobulus, after
this maner. Tel
me Critobulus, is
the ozdypng of an

house the name of a science, lyke wyse as
phisike is, and masons & carpenters crafte?
So me thynketh, said Critobulus. whether
than may we tell, what is the dnetie, and the
propze office, of the ozdypng of an house/
like wise as we can tel of other craftes and
sciences? He thynketh, saide Critobulus,
hit longeth to a good husbande, and a good
ozdzer of an house to gypde well and ozder
his owne house. But yet, sayd So. If one
dyd put hym in trust, & charge him to ozder
his house, coude not he ozder hit as well as
his owne, if he wolde? For he that hath a
carpenters crafte well, he can worke as well
for an other, as he can for hym selfe, & may
not a good husbande, wel experte in the oz-
dypng of an house, do lyke wyse? He
A.ij. thynketh

Xenophon

thynketh yes, good Socrates. Than a man, sayde Socrates, that is well sene in that science, though he haue no substaunce / nor no goodes him selfe, may get his liuing, and haue good wages / if he wyll order an other mans house / as well as he that buildeth an house. In good sayth, sayde Critobulus / he were woorthy to haue very good wages, if he coude take an other mans house in hande / and do every thyng / that belongeth to hit, / and make the house better in goodes and in substaunce. But what do we meane by the house / whether is it nothyng els but the bare house / or whether all maner of thynges, that a man hath out of the house / be belongynge to the house? He thinketh, sayde Critobulus, that all though that that a man hath / be not within the towne / where he dwelleth / but in the countre / or any where els, that al dothe belonge to the house, what so euer a man hath. And is there not some men / that haue enmyes? Yes mary / and a great meiny to. And what we say, that their enmyes be theyr goodes or substance? By my feyth it were a mery ieste, if he that hath caused vs to haue mo enmyes than we had / wolde haue a rewarde for it besyde, for by cause we haue inged a mans house / and that that a man hath to be all one. Ye but I do
not

not accompt that amonge a mans substance and goodes, that is nought and hurtful vnto him, but that that is good and profitable.

Than, as farre as I se, ye calle that a mans goodes and substance, that is profitable vnto him? Ye may do I, and suche thinges as be hurtful, I cal them damages and not goodes. And what if a man bye a horse, that he can not ryde / but fall downe from his backe, and so do hym selfe a displeasure, is not that horse his goodes? No by my faye, seinge those thynges be goodes that be good. Noz the grounde than shal not be called goodes vnto a man / the which occupieth it so, that he hath damage by hit. Noz the grounde shal not be called goodes, if where that a man shulde be founde and nourished by it / he dieth for hunger. Than it fareth like wise by thepe. If a man hath any damage / by the reason that he can not guyde them, noz order them as he shulde, the thepe shal not be goodes vnto hym? He thynketh no. Than, as farre as hit semeth by you / ye call those thinges goodes, that be profitable / and those thynges that be hurtfull be no goodes? Some thynketh. Than one selfe thyng shal be called goodes vnto him that can vse it as he shuld / & to hym that can not / it shal be no goodes.

Xenophon

Like wise as recorders be goodes vnto him/
that can plaie on them somewhat according:
But vnto hym that can not, they be no other
wise good than stones, that be vnprofitable,
excepte a man do selle them. And so lyke
wyse by the recorders / if we sell them, they
be good: But if we kepe the, & can not occu-
pie them, they be no goodes. We must nedes
to agree in this tale, seinge we haue sayd a-
foze, that those thinges, that be profitable be
goodes. For the recorders / as longe as we
kepe them vnsolde / they be no goodes / for
they do vs no good: But if they be sold, they
be goodes. Ye mary, sayd Socrates, if one
haue the witte to sel them well. But if one
do selle them, that can not order hym selfe /
euen whan they be al redy solde, they be no
goodes / accordig to your tale. We thiketh
ye say sir Socrates, that noz yet money no-
ther is goodes, except a man can vse it. So
me thinketh / ye haue granted all redy, that
those thynges be called goodes / that a man
getteth any profite by. But if a man byd
bestowe his money vpon an harlotte, & that
by the reason of dayly cōuersation with hir,
his body were he weaker, his soule the worse
disposed, and his house the worse kepte and
ordered, howe shulde money be profitable
vnto him? It can not be in no case / excepte

of householde †

parauēture we wil cal our goodes a poison,
the whiche whan a man dothe eate of it, hit
bringeth him out of his witte. But as for
money / frende Critobulus / if a man can not
vse it as he shulde, let him cast it away farre
from him. For hit is nother profitable vnto
him, nor may be called goodes. But as for
freendes, if a man can vse them, so that he get
some profite of the, what shal we say þ they
be? Goodes forsoth, said Crito. & moche
more thā theye oz open, seinge they be a gret
deale more profitable. Than, accordeinge
to your tale, our enmis like wise be goodes
vnto him / that can get profite of them. So
me thinketh. And it is a point thā of a good
husbande and a good order of an house, to
haue away to vse his enmies so, that he may
gette some profette by them. In any case.
For ye se well inoughe, good Crito. Howe
many meane mennes houses / & howe many
lordes & kyngis dominions haue ben increa-
sed and amplified by the reason of warre.
Forsoth sir Socrates, me thinketh ye haue
verye well spoken in this matter, but what
thike you by this, whan that we se that some
men, which haue sciences, good wages / and
good proprietie, wherby they myght make
their houses the better, if they wold put the
selfe to it: yet we may wel se & perceiue they

Xenophon

woll not do it. And therfore we se, that the
sciēces and good pꝛopꝛeties, that they haue,
anayle them nothyng: whether than shall
those sciences / that they haue / be accompted
foꝛ theyꝝ goodes and substance / oꝛ foꝛ som-
what els? Ye said Socrates, me thynketh,
ye meane that by bonde men / and by some
vile parsons. No by my seythe I: but I
speake of some of them, that be honest mens
sonnes and gentilmenne to / the whiche I
se, that some of them, that be experte bothe
in those thynges / that longe to warre and
also to peace / yet they woll not put them
selfes to none of them. and me thynketh, they
shuld be in a better case, if they were bonde
men. foꝛ I suppose, that they do not that
that they shulde, foꝛ bicause they lacke mai-
sters to putte them to hit. Howe can that
stande., saide Socrates, that they haue no
maisters, whan that they desiring to lyue in
welthe and felicite, and mynded to do that
that wolde be foꝛ their pꝛfette: their lordes
and superiours do let them, that they shall
not do it? And what be they, saide Crito-
bulus, that be inuisible, and yet order them
thus? Nay they be not all so inuisible, no,
I wis they be clere inoughe to euery mans
sight. And ye knowe well your selfe / they
be moſte vngꝛacions and moſte myschenous
of all,

of all, if slouthfulnes, sluggardise / lacke of stomacke and quickenes, lacke of takynge hede, and also negligence may be taken for Ingratiousnes. And besyde these there be other deceitfull ladies, the whiche do come in vnder the colour and name of pleasures, playenge at dice and cardes, Inpzoofitable triflynge and keppynge company with vnthzistes / the whiche in pzooces of tyme do bewe playnlye vnto theyz adherentes, by them deceiued, that amonge pleasures there is some wo and some sorowe myngled. These ladies kepe them so in seruage and thzaldome, that they can not be suffred to do nothynge, that is for theyz pzoofite. Ye but there be some other, good Socrates, the whiche haue no suche, to let them from their busines / but rather applie them selves well fanozdy to their busines, and seke, and imagin al the wayes possible to gette them good with al: yet they do stroye them selves, minishe their liuelode, & destroy their houses: And as concernynge to fynde any remedye / they be at their wittes endes. And they also, sayde Socrates, be lyke wyse boundemen / as other be, and haue ouer them very soze and cruell felowes to theyz maisters. Some of them be in the thzaldome of glotony, some of licorouse, some of dzonken-

Xenophon

nes, some of Bayne pride / and costly bayne
gloze / the whiche kepe their subiectes so
soze in seruitude and bondage, that as longe
as they se them yonge and lustie, and able to
wozke / they make them to bynge them all
that euer they can gette / to bestowe it vpon
theyr lustis and pleasures. But whan they
perceyue they be so olde, that they can not
wozke, than they lette them alone with a
mischiefe / to lyue wretchedly in theyr olde
age, and seke other, that they may bynge in
to their seruice lyke wyse. But it becometh
gentil Critobulus / to stryue and fight with
them for our owne libertie, none other wyse
than we wolde with them, the whiche / with
naked swozdes and weapons in their handis,
go aboute to bynge vs in thraldome and
seruitude. Enmyes, if that they be good
honest men / whan they haue brought some
men in to theyr subiection, they cause many
to be moche better, teachyng them to be
reuly and tēperate, that afoze were to high
mynded and to fierce. But as for these la-
dies they neuer cesse, but be euermore punis-
shyng / beatyng / and turmetyng the bodies /
the soules, and the houses of them, that they
haue vnder : and that they do as longe as
they be their maistresses. Than Critobulus
sayde vnto hym after this maner. As for
this

this matter me thynkethe I haue harde you
speke insufficiently in it. And whan I grope
and serche well my conscience, I finde, that
me thynketh / I can very well refrayne all
maner of suche thynges. wherfore if ye
wyl gyue me counseyle, howe doinge I may
encreace & make my house better, I thinke /
I shall be nothinge let of them that ye calle
ladies. And therfore tell me with a good
wyl, if ye haue any goodnes in this matter.
Or els ye thynke parauenture, that we be
ryche inoughe, and nede no moze goodes.
By my faith, saide Socrates, in dede, if ye
speake of me, I nede no moze goodes, but
I am ryche inoughe. But as for you Crito-
tobulus, me thynketh ye be very poure. And
by the seyth I owe to god / I haue some ty-
mes great pite of you. Than Critobulus
laughyng saide : And I pray you for gods
dis sake, if al your goodes were solde, what
shuld ye haue for them ? And what shuld
I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them ?
I thynke, sayde Socrates, that if I myght
mete with a good byer / I shuld haue well
for my house, and for all my goodes a.v. or
vi. marke. But as for yours, I knowe very
well, that ye shuld haue an hundred tymes
moze. And ye that knowe this, do ye thike
your selfe, that ye lacke no moze goodes,
and

Xenophon

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by the seyth I owe to god / I haue some ty-
mes great pite of you. Than Critobulus
langhynge saide : And I pray you for gods
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shoulde ye haue for them ? And what shoulde
I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them ?
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for my house, and for all my goodes a.v. or
vi. marke. But as for yours, I knowe very
well, that ye shoulde haue an hundred tymes
moze. And ye that knowe this, do ye thike
your selfe, that ye lacke no moze goodes.
and

Xenophon

and haue pitie of me, bycause of my poverte.
For that that I haue is sufficient inough to
synde me. That that is necessarie. But for to
meynteyne your state, and the woꝝthyp, that
ye haue taken vpon you, me semeth / that if
ye had foure tymes as moche moze as ye
haue, it were not inoughe. And howe so,
saide Critobulus. Then said Socrates:
Fyrste of al I se, that ye muste nedes make
many feastis and many great bankettes, or
the people wyll skante abyde the sighte of
you. Moze ouer ye must receyue in to your
houses many straungers, and intreate them
honorably, keepyng good hospitalite. Fur-
thermoze ye must bydde many men to diner,
and do them some pleasure, or els at your
nede ye shall haue no man to helpe you.
Moze ouer I perceiue / that the cite of Athe-
nes begynneth to put you to many greatte
charges, as to synde horses, to haue to
builde thinges longyng to the citie, to ke
musters of mē, to cause goodly pageants to
be made, & goodly plaies to be plaide. But
if there come in warre ones, I am sure, they
wyll haue so moche money fro you, what in
taxes, what in subsidies, and what in prea-
tis, that ye shall scante be able to beare it.
And if ye seme to paye somewhat lesse than
your power is, they wolle punyshe you as
foze,

foze, as thonghe they had founde you rob-
bynge the cōmon treasorie. Besyde this,
I se þe haue this opinion / that ye be riche /
and that ye care not to get no moze goodes /
and that ye gyue your selfe to vayne and
childishe pleasures, as ye may wel do, The
whiche thiges do moue me to haue cōpassion
of you, fearyng lest ye fall in to some mys-
fortune, and into great pouerte without any
remedye. And as for me, if I had nede / I
trowe ye knowe verye well / that there be
many that wold helpe me : in so moche that
if they gaue me but euery man a littell, I
shulde haue moze than the degree of my ly-
uynge doth require. But as for your fren-
des, al though they haue moze to kepe them
in their degree, than ye haue for yours : yet
they loke, that ye shulde helpe them.

Then sayde Critobulus, I haue nothyng
to say agaynst you in this matter : But it is
time for you to instructe me with some good
pzeceptes / to thintente that I be not so mi-
serable in dede, that ye may haue cōpassion
on me with a good cause. Then sayde
Socrates : Do not ye thynke your selfe,
that ye do a very strange, and a maruailous
thyng / that but a praty whyle ago, whan
I sayde, that I was riche, ye laugh at me /
as though I knewe not what riches mened,
and

Xenophon

and neuer fpynted / til ye had put me to a re-
buke, and made me to cōfesse, that I had not
the hundzeth parte of that, that ye haue, and
nowe ye byd me to instructe you / and set my
diligence / that ye be not poure in very dede.
For I se wel good Socrates, said Critobu-
lus, that ye haue in you the castte to make a
man ryche in dede, that is to make him haue
plentie and abundance. And I truste, he
that of a litell thyng can make plentie and
abundance, shal do hit moche moze lightlier
of many great thynges.

We ye not remembzed of our cōmunyng a
pzatye whyle ago, whan I rōude in no case
contrarie your sayinge : that to him that can
not vse horses / horses be no goodes vnto
hym / noz lande / noz wepe / noz money / noz
nothyng els, and yet of suche thynges a man
may get great profite and vantage. But as
for me, howe do ye thinke, that I can vse or
order suche thynges, that hadde neuer none?
But me thought, that all though a man had
nother money, noz no goodis, yet there was
a certaine science of gydyng and ordyng of
an house. And what letteth you, that ye
may not haue the same science? Loke what
doth let a man to playe vpon recorders, if
nother he had neuer none hym selfe / noz bo-
rowed none of no body : the selfe same im-
pede.

pediment haue I in the ordzing of an house.
For I nother neuer had instrumentes/ that
is goodes and money of myn owne to lerne
by hit, noz there was neuer no bodye, that
charged me with his goodes, to ouer se the,
oz to order them/excepte ye parauenture be
disposed so to do. But ye knowe wel, that
they that lerne firste to play vpon an harpe,
they spille the harpe: So if I wolde nowe
lerne on your householde / howe to kepe an
house / I am aserde / lest I wolde destroye
your house. Ha, ye go about very busily
and redily to auoyde, that ye wol not helpe
me to beare, and susteyne with me parte of
my busines. By my say that do I not: I
woll be glad with all myne harte to Bewe
you al that euer I can. But I thinke this,
that if ye came to my house for some fyze,
and I had none / if I bzought you to an o-
ther place, where ye myghte haue some, ye
wolde not be displeased with me. And if
ye came and asked me water, and I hadde
none, if I bzought you in to a place, where
ye myghte drawe some, ye coude not blame
me. And if ye wolde, that I wolde teache
you musicke / if I dyd Bewe you other men
moze experte in it than I am my selfe, and
that wolde be gladde and sayne to teache
you, what coude ye blame me, if I dyd so?
I coude

Xenophon

I coude not do it with a good cause. Therefoze I wyll shewe you, that these thynges, which ye desire so instantly of me, that there be other men moze counnyng, and moze experte in them than I am. And this I grāt you, that I haue hadde a greatte mynde to knowe, whiche were the mooste counnyng / and the mooste experte in all the citie. For whan I dyd some tyme considze / that in one woꝝke, one busines, and one thyng doinge some waxed verpe poure, and some verpe riche, I marueiled, and me thought, it was a thyng to be well consydered / howe that wuld be. And thus consideryng, I founde, that this happened none other wyse / than the thyng it selfe and reason wolde. For I sawe, that they that behaued them selves rashely in their busines / had damage and losse by it : and they, that with discretion, witte, and good aduisement applied theyꝝ busynes / bzoughte theyꝝ matters to passe moze quickly, moze easily / and with moze auantage. Of the whiche I thynke that ye may lerne / and so by the grace of god come to be a very riche man, with moche winning and lucre. Nowe by my faith I wyll neuer let you be in reste, vntyll the tyme ye shewe afoze these frendes of yours / that ye speake of / that that ye haue promysed me.

But

But what wolde ye saye, if I dyd shewe
you some men, the whiche haue builded for
verye moche money / vnprofitable houses /
without any good caste, or any good com-
ditie : and other that for lesse coste a great
dele, haue made houses / lackynge nothyng
that longeth to an house / wylle ye not saye,
that I do shewe you a poynt of a good or-
der of an house ? Yes verily said Crito.
What if I shewe you nexte and according to
the same, that some men haue moche house-
holde stuffe / and of all sortes, and whan
they haue nede of it, they can not vse it, but
it is to seche, and they can not tell whether
hit be luste or saue leyd vpon ? And for this
cause they be wonderfyll greued in theyr
myndes, and beynge a trouble their seruantes,
and nothyng els. And also other men, the
whiche haue no moze / but rather lesse / haue
euery thyng redy at hande / whan they haue
nede of it. What wulde be the cause of it,
gentil Socrates / but that the tone doth cast
aspyde euery thyng folowysse, without any
order : and the tother layth vpon euery thyng
in his place ? There ye saide well / sayde
Socrates. And he not only setteth eue-
ry thyng in his place / but also in suche a
place as is mete and conuenient to set hit in.

Xenophon

He semeth, sayd Cri. that ye say, that this
 also is a poynt of a good order of an house.
 And what if I Bewe you, that in one place
 al the bounde men & seruantes be tyed faste,
 & yet they runne awaye often tymes : and in
 an other place they be losed / wyllpyng to a-
 byde & labour with al theyr hartes, wyll ye
 not thynke this a good poynt of a house kee-
 per, woorthy to be looked vpon ? Yes mary,
 said Critobulus, & very woorthy to be looked
 vpon. And what if I Bewe you hous-
 bande men / of the whiche some complayne
 and sape, that they dye for hunger, for all
 theyr husbandry, and some that haue plene-
 tie / of al maner of thynges necessary, by the
 reason of their husbandry. Ye mary, sayd
 Critobulus, parauenture they bestowe their
 money and theyr goodes / not where they
 shulde / but in suche thynges as be hurtefull
 bothe to them and to theyr houses. In
 dede there be some suche / sayde Socrates /
 But I do nat speke of them, but of those, the
 whiche cal them selfe husbande men, and yet
 they can scant get their meate & their drinke.
 And what shulde be the cause of this gentyl
 So ? I wyll bryng you vnto them, sayde
 So. and whā ye se them, than shal ye lerne.
 Mary that wyll I, if that I can. Ye but
first

first ye muste proue your selfe, if ye shall be
able to knowe it, when ye se them. It cometh
in to my mynde now, that ye wolde
rise very perly, and go a great waye, to se
enterludes played, & that ye wolde intreate
me nedes to go with you, but ye neuer had
me to suche a sighte. Than ye thinke, myne
owne Socrates, that I am worthe to be
laughed to scozne of you. Ye but of your
selfe make more. But what if I do shewe
you some men / the whiche by the reason of
kepyng of horses, haue bene brought to ex-
treme pouerte, and other / the whiche by the
reason of hit, haue made them selves ryche
men / and haue gotten so great substance, that
they liue lyke lordes? I haue sene them,
and I knowe them bothe, but I haue neuer
the more vantage for that. The cause of it
is, that ye beholde them lyke wyse / as ye
loke vpon the plaiers of enterludes, not to
thintēt that ye may be a poete, but for a pa-
styme & a recreation. And parauēture ye do
well in that, for ye be not mynded to be a
poete, but where ye be cōpelled to kepe and
fynde horses, wyll ye not iuge your selfe a
foole, if ye go not aboute to studie a reme-
die, that ye be not ignoraunte in that be-
halse, seinge that the selfe same thynges be
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good to the vse, and profitable to be solde.
 Your mynde is that I shoulde breake horses?
 No by my faith it, no more than if ye wolde
 haue a good labozer, I wolde gyue you coun-
 sell to bringe hym vp of a childe. But there
 be ages bothe of horses and of men, the
 whiche be immediately profitable / and do
 daily so growe, that they do more good one
 daye than an other. Furthermoze I can
 shewe you some men, the which haue so vsed
 and ordred their wyues / that they comforte
 them and helpe them towarde the increfing
 of their house : and some that haue suche
 wyues, the which destroy vtterly the house,
 and so the moste parte of men haue. But
 who is to be blamed for this / the husbände
 or the wyfe / good Socrates? A Wepe / if
 hit do not well, for the moste parte we do
 blame the Weperde. And a horse moste co-
 monly / if he be skyttishe, and do some disple-
 sure, we blame the breker. And a wyfe
 lyke wyse, if her husbände teache hir well,
 if she do not folowe it, she is parauenture to
 blame. But if he do not teache her, if she be
 rude / Unwomanly / and witles / is not he to
 be blamed? Yes by my faith, sayde Cri.
 And seinge that we be frendes, I may speke
 plainly betwene our selves, Is there euer
 any

any other wyse man, that ye truste & charge
so moche in your busynes, as ye do your
wyse? No forsoth, sayd he. And is there
any, that ye commune lesse with, than ye do
with her? No by my faith, and if there be
any, they be very fewe. Ye married her be-
cuse yonge / whan he had nother sene nor
harde moche of the worlde. wherfore hit
were moze to be marvailed at it, if he knew
and dyd as he shulde / than if he dyd amisse.
Crito. They, the whiche ye say, haue good
wyues, haue they taughte them so in dede?
Socra. It is a thyng not to stande longe
vpon. For I wyll brynge you my wyse
Aspasia / the whiche shall shewe you all this
better than I my selfe. But me thynketh
that a wyse, beinge a good companion / and
a good felowe to her husbände in a house, is
very necessary / and within a litle as moche
worthe as the husbände. For commonlye
goodes and substāce do come in to the house
by the labour and payne of the man, but the
woman is she for the moste parte, that ke-
peth and bestoweth it, where nede is. And
if these two thinges stande well to gether /
and be wel ordeined, the houses do increace,
if not / they muste nedes decaye.

Moze ouer me thynketh, that I can shewe
you

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you in all sciences them, that do worke and labour, accorpyng as they wylde, if ye thynke that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherse them all good Socrates / sayde Critobulus? For hit is nother possible for a man to haue worke men of all faculties / suche as wylde be, nor hym selfe to be experte in all. But as for suche sciences / as be mooste honozable, and maye become me well to occupie them / them I wolde ye byd Bewe me, and also those men, the which applie them selves vnto them. And ye of your syde helpe to teache me, and further me in them as moche as ye can. Ye speke very well frende Critobulus, sayde Socrates. For suche craftes, as be called handye craftes, they be very abiecte and vile / and littell regarded and esteemed in cities and comon welthes: For they do destroye the bodies of those, that do occupie them / whan they make them to sytte euermore at home, and to be fedde vpe alwaye in the shade, and some make them to stande all the day staryng on the fire. And whan the body is ones tender and feble / the stomacke and spirite muste nedes to waie a greatte deale the weaker. And agayne, they haue but smalle leysure to sette theyr mynde and diligence

ligence to do theyr frendes any good, nor also the common welthe. wherfoze suche men seme to be but a smallle comforte to theyr frendes at a nede, nor no good men to succour theyr countree in tyme of ieopardie. And for a suertie in some cities and common welthes, and specially suche as be daylye in warre / hit is not lawfull to neuer a cytesyn to occupie no handye crafte.

And what faculties wylle ye counsayle me to vse gentyll Socrates? So. Let not vs thynke scozne, nor be ashamed to folowe the kynge of the Persis. For they saye, that he / supposynge the science of warre / and also of husbandrye to be mooste honorable / and also necessarye amonge other faculties, dothe regarde and exercise them wonderfully. And whan Critobulus harde that / he sayde: Do ye thynke, that the kynge of Persia carethe any thyng for husbandrye? If we consydre hit after this maner, sayde Socrates, we shall peradventure come to knowlege, whether he dothe or not. For euery man graunteth, that he setteth soze his studie vpon suche thynges, as longe to warre. For it is appointed to euery lieutenāt & lord of the countres

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Underneath hym, howe many men of armes,
mozispikes, bylles, archers, and crossbowes
they shall haue redy in theyr wages, either
to kepe his subiectes fro rebellion for feare,
or to kepe the countre, if enmyes do inuade
it. Beside these he layth garisons in all the
townes and castels, and there is a capitayne
apoynted to paye them truely theyr wages,
and to se that there be no faute in hit. And
the kynge causeth euery twelue monthe the
musters to be made of al them that be in his
wages, and he apoynted to be redye in har-
neis at any tyme / and so byngeth them all
together, those reserued that be in garisons,
in to a place, that they call the place of con-
gregation. And suche as be nighe his ma-
nour and his dwelllyng place, he ouerloketh
them hym selfe. But they that dwelle in
farre countrees, he sendeth thither some,
that he trusteth beste to haue the ouer syghte
of them. And those heedes, rulers, and ca-
pitaines, whether they haue many or fewe
Under them, if they bynge forth the theyr full
nombze / that is apoynted vnto them / well
harneised and well horsed, and wel furnis-
hed of al maner of thinges, he gyueth verp
great praysse and honour to the lieutenantes
and to the lordes, and gyueth them many
great

great gyftes and rewardes, so that they be
riche for euer. But when he fyndeth / that
his lordes, his lieutenantes, and deputies
haue no regarde to the capitaynes of his
soudiours, but catche and polle, and care but
onely for their owne vantage, he punisheth
them sore, he putteth the out of their officis,
and setteth other in their stede. In doinge
those thinges, there is no man that doubteth /
but that he applieth his mynde and his stu-
die very sore to warre. But beside this / al
the countrey / that is therby / where he dwel
leth / he rydeth aboute hym selfe / takynge
hede and markynge howe hit is tyllled and
laboured. But when a countrey is so farre
of, that he can not come to se it hym selfe / he
sendeth them, that he trusteth best, to ouer
se it. And when he fyndeth, that his lieue-
tenantes and deputies do kepe the countrey
wel inhabited / the grounde wel plowed and
laboured, full of suche trees as the countrey
wyll beare, he promoteth them to the rule
of moze countres, he gyueth them great pre-
sentes, and dothe them great honour. But
when he findeth the countrey deserte and vna-
habited, the grounde vntilled and vnlabou-
red, by cause of their negligence / wronges
doinge, excozions, & cruelties, he punisheth
them /

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them, he putteth them out of theyr offices /
and setteth other in theyr rowmes . In doo-
inge these thinges, do ye thynke, that he set-
teth lesse his mynde to haue his countre wel
replenysshed of dwellers, and well tyllled
and laboured / than that the souldiours shuld
defende hit well ? Mozeouer of the lieu-
tenantes and deputies / that he hath, One
man hath not the charge of two thynges at
ones . For some of them be apoynted to
haue the ouersyghte of the husbände men
and labourers / and to gether the tithes and
tributes of them. And there be other, that
haue the ouersyghte of the souldiours / and
of the garisons . And if the lieutenant of
the garison do not his duetie in keepynge and
defendynge the countree, he that is the lieu-
tenaunt of the husbände men and labou-
ers / accuseth the tother lieutenant, that
they can not plie theyr worke for lacke of
good defence. But if the lieutenant of
the garyson dothe his deuty / and kepeth
the countre in peace, so that they may worke
at theyr pleasure / and the lieutenant of the
husbände men dothe not se to the countrey /
that hit be well inhabited / and that the
husbände men applie theyr worke as they
shulde, than the lieutenant of the garyson
accuseth

accuseth him agayne. For when the house-
 holde men do not labour well, the found-
 ours can scarce gette vitayles / nor the kynge
 can haue his tribute. And in some coun-
 tries of Persia a great lord, that they call
 Satrapa, occupieth the rowme of bothe
 lieutenantes. Then spake Critobulus,
 and sayde: If the kynge dothe, as ye say /
 he taketh as moche hede to husbandrye, as
 he doth to warre. So. Howe ouer in what
 so euer countre he lieth / and where so euer
 he maketh his abydyng, he setteth his
 mynde to haue goodlye fayre gardeynes /
 that they calle in theyr tonge Paradise,
 fulle of all maner of thynges, that the
 erthe byrngeth forth. And there he by-
 deth for the moste parte / as longe as the
 tyme of the yere dothe not lette hym.

Then by my saythe, sayde Critobulus, se-
 inge that he bydeth there hym selfe, he must
 nedes do his diligence, that these gardeynes
 maye be as fayre and as goodly as can be /
 well replenished with trees / and all ma-
 ner of thynges / that the erthe can byrnge
 forth. And also some say, good Cri-
 tobulus, sayde Socrates, that when the
 kynge gyueth any rewardes, that he calleth
 them spasse, that haue behaned them selves
 many

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manly in the warres, because it were to none
effecte to tyll and labour the grounde, ex-
cepte there were some, that shuld defende it.
And nexte to them he calleth those / that
haue provided / that the countre shulde not
be ydell, but well occupied and laboured /
saying, that the Valiant men of warre coude
not lyue, if the good labourers were not.
And they say, that Cyrus, the whiche hath
ben a very famous, and an excellent kynge,
saide vpon a tyme vnto them, that he called
vnto hym to gyue them rewardes, that he
hym selfe was well woorth to haue the re-
wardes of them bothe. For he saide, that
he was verie good bothe to se the countrey
wel laboured, and also to kepe & defende it.
Forsothe, saide Critobulus, if Cyrus dyd
say so, he dyd shewe plainly, that he had as
greatte pleasure / that the countre shulde be
wel occupied, as to haue good mē of warre.
So. By my faith, if Cyrus had lyued, he
wold haue proued a very noble prince: and
of that he shewed many great and euident
tokens at diuers tymes, and amonge the
tother / whan he came forth agaynst his
brother to trie by batayle, who shulde be
kynge. For they say / that from Cyrus no
man fled to the kynge / but many thousandes
left

lefte the kynge to come and serue Cirus.
And me thynketh this is a great argument
of a princis vertue / whan men do obey hym
with their owne good wyll, and be glad to
abide with hym in tyme of ieopardie. For
Cirus frendes stode fightynge aboute hym
whiles he was yet alive, and whan he was
slayne / they fightyng moste valiantly were
slayne all beside hym, excepte Ariens, the
whiche was set in the leste wyng.

This gentyll Cirus, whan Aysander came
to hym, to brynge hym presentes from the
cities of Grece confederated vnto him, they
say, as Aysander shewed hym selfe to a frende
of his in the towne of Megara / that he re-
ceined him with moche humanite, & amonge
other thynge he shewed hym a gardeyne,
that was called the Paradis of Sardis.

But whan Aysander beganne to maruaile
at it, by cause the trees were so faire and so
egally sette / and the orders of the trees lay
streyghte one agaynst an other, and made
goodly angles & corners well pporcioned /
and many swete and pleasant saours came
to theyr noses, whan they were walkynge,
he wondrynge thereupon sayde thus : For
sothe Cirus the great beautifulnes of these
thinges is a greatte maruaile to me, but I
wonder

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wonder moche moze of him, that hath measured and sette them thus in order. Than Cirus, when he herde this byd reioyce and saye : All these that ye se I haue measured them, and sette them in order, and I can shewe you some trees, that I haue set with myne owne handes. And Lysander when he had looked vpon hym, and beholden his goodly apparell, and felte the good sauour that came from it / and the estimable fayrnes of his golden chaynes / his rynges, and his pzeious stones, sayde : What saye ye Cirus, haue ye sette any of these with your owne handes ? Than Cirus answered. Do ye maruaile of this Lysander ? By the saythe that I owe to god, when I am well at ease / I neuer go to dyner vnto the time I haue done somwhat, outther in feates of armes, or in some poynte of husbandle tyll I swete. Than, when Lysander herde this, he toke hym by the hande and sayde : We thynkethe Cirus, ye be fortunate not without a cause. For ye be fortunate beinge a good man.

And this I reherse vnto you myne owne Critobulus, sayd Socrates, for this cause, that ye maye se / that they that be ryche and fortunate, can not well kepe them frome husban-

Husbandrye. For hit is suche an exercise,
and suche a busynes / that a man maye haue
pleasure in hit, bothe to encrease and mul-
tiplie his goodes, and also to exercise the
bodye so / that hit shall be able to do all
maner of thynges, that longethe for an
honest man to do. For fyrste of all, the
grounde byngeth forth the all suche maner
of thynges, that a man is fedde and nou-
rished with, and hit byngeth forth also
suche thynges, that a man may haue plea-
sure by hit. Moreover, hit gyuethe vs
all suche thynges, as we nede to trymme
and dresse the auters and ymages withall,
and that with mooste pleasaunt syghtes and
sauours. Furthermoze of meates necessa-
rye for mannes vse, some hit byngethe
by hit selfe, and some hit nouryssheth.
For the crafte of keepnge of Beere is an-
nexed to husbandrye, so that we maye vse
them at our owne pleasure. And though
hit gyuethe vs plentye of all maner of
thynges / yet hit dothe nat suffre vs to
gether them with softenes and tenderne-
sses / but vseth vs to be harde and stronge /
in wynter by the reason of the colde, and
in somer by the reason of the heate.

And

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And as for them, the which do labour with
theyr owne handes, hit maketh them bygge
and myghte, and they that occupie husban-
drie but onely with ouer lokynge & takinge
hede to other mennes warkes, it quickeneth
and maketh them lyke men / makynge them
to ryse rarely in the moornynge, and causynge
them to walke a great waye. For bothe in
the feldees and also in the cities, euery thyng
that a man doth to any purpose, muste nedes
be done in tyme and in season. Moreouer
if he wyll be a horse man, and defende his
countre on horsebacke, a horse may no wher
be better fedde than in the countre. And if
he wyll be a footeman, husbandry maketh
a man stronge bodied, and causeth hym to
exercise hym selfe goinge a huntynge, whan
it gyueth lyghtly meate to the dogges, and
the grounde byngeth byppe and nourisseth
wyld beasts. And the horses / and lyke
wyse the dogges / thus holpen by the waye
of husbandry, do agayne some seruice to the
grounde. For the horse beareth hym verily
in the moornynge, that wyll se the grounde
be nat let alone vntylled & vntrymmed / and
at nyghte beareth hym home agayne, if he
tarre neuer so late. And the dogges kepe
away wyld beasts / that they spille not the
frute,

frute, and kyll the Bepe, and make a man
 to be sure in a wyldernes. Moze ouer, it
 comfozteth and styrreth husbände men to be
 bolde, and to stande manly to defende theyr
 countre, seinge it leaueth the frutes abrode
 in the playne to be vsurped of hym that is
 stronger. And what facultie wyll make a
 man moze apte to runne, to hote / and also
 to leape, than husbände? What science
 yeldeth moze againe to the that do labour?
 What science receiueth him, that is studious,
 with greater pleasure, seinge when he co-
 meth / it gyueth hym leaue to take what he
 wyll? Where shall a straunger be better
 welcomed to make hym good chere? Where
 shall a man haue better commoditie to kepe
 his wynter with fire inoughe and hote ba-
 thes? And where is moze pleasant dwel-
 lynge for goodly waters / gentyll wyndes
 and shadowe, than in the felde? Where
 may a man make better feasts / and moze
 triumphant bankettes? What other place
 do seruantes loue better? What other place
 doth a wyfe lyke moze? Where do chylde
 desire moze to be? Where be frendes bet-
 ter receyued / and gladder to be? Forsoth
 me thynketh it a maruaylous thyng / if any
 honest man can fynde any substance, that he
 L desiteth

The praise
 of husbände
 drye.

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desireth more in, or if he can fynde any occupation outther more pleasant than this is, or more profitable for his luyng. And moreover, the grounde teacheth men Justice, if they haue the witte to lerne it. For they that do for it, and haue care for it / it rewardeth them with farre moche more.

And if they / that haue bene brought vpp in Husbandrye, by some sodayne chance of enemies, they that be lordes of the countre can not tyll the grounde, they may go in to their ennies countres / seinge they haue ben well and hardly broughte vp, and gette there as moche, if god be not agaynst them, as wyl suffice them to lye with. And hit is often tymes more sure to seke for his luyng, in tyme of warre / with weapons of warre / than with instrumentes of Husbandry.

Husbandry also teacheth men to helpe one another. If we wyl go to warre, we must haue men, nor the grounde can not be laboured without men. And therfore he that wyl be a good husbände man / he must get hym good lustye worke men, and wyllyng to do after hym / and obeie hym. And the selfe same thyng he must go about to bringe to passe, that leadeth an armie to fyghte agaynst his ennies, gnyng great rewardes
vnto

vnto them, that behaue the selves like good
 valiant men, and punisheth them that be flo-
 burne / and wyl not be ordred. And he
 that is a good husbāde, must as often times
 cal vpon his labourers, and comfort them,
 as the capitayne doth his souldiours. And
 bounde men haue as great nede to be com-
 forted, and meyntheyned with good hope, as
 other fre men / yea and rather moze, to thede
 they runne not away, but be gladde to byde
 styll. And surely he sayde verie well,
 that called husbāde the mother and the
 nource of all other sciences. For if husbā-
 dze dothe stande well, all other sciences
 & faculties do the better. But if the groūde
 be barayne / and can beare no frute, al other
 sciences be all moste spilled both by see and
 by lande.

Whan Critobulus hadde harde this / he
 spake after this maner. He thinketh, good
 Socrates, ye speke verie wel in this matter.
 But ye knowe verie wel, that the most parte
 of suche thinges / as longe to husbādze / a
 man can not caste them afoze hande. For
 often tymes hayle stones, drought, or con-
 tinuall rayne, myste, or vermyne, that eate
 vp the sede that is in the grounde / do put vs
 beside our intēt and purpose, if it were neuer

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so good. And I hope to see / if they be
in neuer so good pasture / there cometh a
sickeness, that destroyeth the all. Socrates,
when he heard that / said againe. I thought
that ye knewe well, that god is aboue all /
as well in husbandry as he is in warre.
We see that they that will make warre, that
afore they begynne, they make their vowes,
prayers / and sacrifices, desiring to knowe,
what is best to do / and what is not best.
And thinke ye, that in those thynges, that
longe to husbandry / we shoulde haue lesse re-
course to god? Be ye sure of this, that
good and honest men do worship almighty
god with oblations / and prayers, for all
theyr frutes, theyr open, theyr hope, and
theyr horses, and generally for all that they
haue. He thinketh good Socrates, said
Crito bulus, that ye speake very well in this
matter, when ye byd to begyn every thinge
with the trust of the helpe / and of the grace
of god / seinge that god is aboue all thynges /
as well in warre as in peace. And therfore
we will endeuour vs to do so. But seinge
your purpose was to speake here of the or-
deryng of an house / the whiche ye haue left,
and be entred in to an other tale, endeuour
your selfe to shewe vs a littell more, what
followeth

foloweth nexte to that that ye leste. For
nowe that I haue harde you saye that that
ye haue spokē, me semeth I se moche better
than afoze / what a man must do for to lyue.
Wherfoze Socrates sayde : But wyll ye,
that we reherse all that we haue spoken a-
foze, and agreed in, to thintent that we may,
if we can, go forth in this matter / bzingyng
suche thig as we shal like wise agree vpon.
He thynketh that lyke wyse / as hit wolde
be a great pleasure, whan two men haue
lente money one to an other, to agree vpon
the rekeninge : So nowe in our communica-
tion / vtrynge our myndes one to an other,
if we myght gree in one tale.

Well than, sayd Socrates, we agreed vpon
this, that the orderynge of an house is the
name of a science, and that semeth to be the
science, to order and increace the house.
And we toke the house for all a mans pos-
sessions and goodes. And we sayde,
that was truely the possession and goodes
of a man, the whiche was profitable vnto
hym for his lyuyng / and we founde al that
profitable / that a man coude vse and order.
And therfoze we thoughte impossible for a
man to lerne all maner of sciences. And
as for all the handye craftes, we thoughte

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Beste to expelle them from vs / lyke wyse as
many cities and common welthes dyd. For
they seme bothe to distroye a mannes body,
and to bzeke a mannes harte and stomacke.
And herof / we sayde, that this myghte be
an euident token. For if the enmyes dyd
inuade the countres, and one dyd sette the
husbande men and the artificers a syde diui-
ded in two partes, and asked them, whether
they had leuer to come forth and pitch the
felde to fighte with their enmyes, or els to
gyue vp the feldes / and kepe and defende
the cities : They that haue bene vsed in
the feldes and husbandle woulde be gladd
to fighte, to deliuer the countre. But on
the tother side, the artificers woulde do that
that they haue bene broughte vp in, that is
to sytte still / neuer labourynge, nor neuer
puttyng them selves in pzeace, nor in ieo-
parchie. Howe ouer we commended hus-
bande for a good exercise and a good oc-
cupation for a good and an honest man / by
the whiche mē may haue al that is necessari-
for them. For it is an occupation very sone
lerned, and very pleasant to be occupied in
it : the whiche also maketh a mannes bodye
myghty, stronge / well complexioned / and
well fauoured / his stomacke and his spirite
to

to be alwaye lustye and redye to do for his
frendes / and for his countre.

Moze ouer, we iugged that hit gaue men
harte and courage to be valiant and hardy /
seinge the frutes, that the grounde bzought
forth, laye abroad in the playne, without
trenches, boultwarke, or fortresses. And
therfore that kynde of spynge seemed to be
moste honozable, and beste esteemed in cities
and common welthes / bicause hit makethe
good men / well disposed, and well mynded
to do good for the common welthe.

why hus-
bandry is
moste ho-
norable,

Then sayde Critobulus, I am after my
mynde sufficiently perswaded / that a man
may haue a very good, an honest, and a plea-
sant spynge in occupieng husbandry. But
where ye sayd, that ye knewe the cause, that
some dyd so vse and occupie husbandry /
that they had by hit plentie of all maner of
thynges, that they neded : and some agayne,
that so ordzed them selves in hit, that hit a-
uayled them nothyng, these two thynges
wolde I gladly here of you, to thentent we
may do that that is good, and eschewe that
that is contrarpe.

But what if I do tel you swete Critobulus,
sayde Socrates, euen from the begynnynge,
what communication I had ones with a man,

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the whiche might be called truely / & in dede
a good honest man : That wolde I here
Serpe fayne sayde Critobulus . For I my
selfe do greatly desyre / that I may be woꝝ-
thy of that goodly name . Than wyll I
tell you / howe I came fyrste to the confide-
ration of this . For as touchynge good
carpenters , good ioyners , good peynters ,
good ymagers , me thought , that I myghte
in a littel tyme se and beholde their warkes
moste allowed and best accepted / that made
them to be so called . But to thede I might
se and beholde , howe they that hadde that
goodly and honozable name of a good and
an honest man , dyd behaue them selves to be
woꝝthy of it , my mynde dyd coueyte greatly
to talke with one of them . And firste of
all for bicause Good and Honest , wente
to gether , whan so euer I sawe any goodly
man , I dꝛewe to hym / and wente aboute to
knowe of hym , if I myghte se Good and
Honest , in a goodly man . But it wold nat
be . For me thoughte that I founde / that
there were many with goodlye bodies and
fayre visages / that hadde but yuell dispo-
sed and Ingratious soules .

Than me thought it best to enquere no fur-
ther of goodly bodies / but to get me to one
of

of them / that were called good and honest men. And for bicause I harde, that Ischomachus was generally, bothe of men, women, citezins and straungers, called and taken for a good honeste man, me thoughte I coude do no better, than to proue howe I myghte cōmune with hym. And vpon a tyme, whan I sawe hym sittynge in a porche of a churche, for bicause me thought he was at leysur, I came to hym, and set me downe by hym, and saide : What is the cause good Ischomachus, that ye, whiche be wonte to be euer moze occupied, syt here nowe after this maner, for I haue sene you for the most parte euermoze doinge some what, & lightly neuer ydell, excepte hit were very littell ? Noz ye shulde not nowe haue seene me good Socrates, said he, sytting after this maner, if I had not apoynted with certaine straungers to tarpe here for them. And if ye were not here, where wolde ye haue bene, or howe wolde ye haue ben occupied, sayde I to hym : For I wolde knowe of you very fayne, what thyng ye do, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man ? The good cōplection of your body beweth well ynough, that ye byde not alway slounginge at home. And than Ischomachus,

E. v.

laughynge

Xenophon

laugbrynge at that that I sayde, what do
 ye, that makethe you to be called a good
 and an honeste man, and reioysynge in his
 harte / as me thoughte by hym / sayde &
 I can not telle if any man calleth me so /
 whan you and he talke of me, but whan I
 muste paye money / or for taxes, preastis /
 or subsidies, they calle me playnelye by my
 name Ischomachus. And in dede good
 Socrates, I do nat alwaye byde at home,
 for my wyfe can order well inoughe suche
 thynges as I haue there. Yea but this
 wolde I knowe of you very fayne, Wylde
 ye your selfe bynge your wyfe to this : or
 els had her father and her mother brought
 her vpp, sufficiently to order an house as
 fore she came to you ? Ischo. Howe
 coude she haue bene so, whan she was but
 fyftene yere olde, whan I marped her ?
 and afore she had ben so negligently brought
 vpp / that she had but very littell seene, ve-
 ry littell harde, and very littell spoken of
 the worlde. And I trowe ye wolde not
 thynke it sufficient in her, if she coude do no-
 thyng but spynne and carde / and sette the
 hande maydens to worke. As for suche
 thynges as concerne the lower partes of
 the hely, good Socrates, sayde he, she had
 bene

Bene Very well bzoughte vp, the whiche is
no smalle poynte of good bzynngynge vyppes,
Bothe in a man and in a woman. And byd
ye teache your wyfe all the remenant, saide
I, so that she is able to take hede to all ma-
ner of thynges? Yes, sayde he, but not as
foze I had made my pzayers to all myghty
god, desirynge hym, that he wolde gyue me
the grace, to teache her so, and her to lerne
that of me, that shulde be good & profitable
to vs bothe. And byd your wyfe make
the selfe same pzayer with you, sayde I?
Yes mary, saide Ischomachus, and it semed
in a maner, that god byd promise euidently,
and he like wise shewed with clere and ma-
nifeste tokens, that he wolde very well re-
garde and take hede to that that he shulde
be taught. For goddis sake good Ischo-
machus, sayde I, what byd ye begynne to
teache hir firste: for I had leauer here you
tell me suche a thyng / than if ye shulde dis-
scriue me a iustynge or a turnament, though
it had bene neuer so triumphant? Mary I
wyl tell you Socrates, saide he. whan we
were ones so wel acquainted, & so familiar
that we talked to gether, I examined her af-
ter this maner. Tell me good bedfelow,
did ye euer cast in your mynde, for what cause
I haue

Xenophon

I haue taken you, and your father and your mother deliuered you vnto me. & I trowe ye knowe well inoughe, that I toke you not for nede, that I had of a bedfelowe to lye with me, for I myghte haue had inowe at my commandment. But whan I had considered in my mynde, and your father and your mother lyke wyse, that hit were well done, to fynde out a good one to be partetaker both of our house, and of our childre / I chose you afore all other, and your father and mother like wise chose me. Wherfore if here after god gyue vs the grace / that we may haue children to gether, we shall take counsaile / howe to brynge them vp and instructe them in vertue. For it shall be for bothe our profettes to haue them, bothe to defende vs / and to helpe and nourishe vs in our olde age. Now the house that we haue is common to vs bothe. For all that euer I haue, I haue bequethed you and deliuered it vnto you to kepe for both our behoues: and ye lyke wyse haue done the same. And ye may not caste in your mynde, whiche of vs bothe broughte more. But this ye muste knowe for a suertie, that loke whiche of vs twayne doth behaue him selfe, and doth best in this felowshyp / that he bryngeth more /
and

good les-
on for a
wyfe.

and his parte is the better.

Then my wyfe, good Socrates, answered here vnto after this maner. Wherin can I helpe you, saide he? or wherin maye my littell power do you any good? For truly my mother tolde me, that all to gether laye in your handes, and that hit belonged vnto me / to be sobze and lyne in chastite. Mary so it is good wyfe, sayde I, and so my father tolde me to. But hit is the poynt of a sobze husbande / and of a sobze wyfe / to do so, that that, the whiche they haue, may be well ordzed and gupded / & to encrease and get moze to it, by some good & rightfule way. And what do ye se in me, sayde my wyfe, that I may encrease our house, if I do applye it? Mary, sayd I, if ye endeuour your selfe to do those thinges to the beste of your power / the whiche bothe god wylllet, that ye shulde do, & the lawe exhorteth you to it. And what thynges be those, sayde he? Verily, saide I, no smalle thynges, excepte ye thynke, that that wee dothe but a littell good, the whiche remaineth styll in the hyne, to ouer se the warkes, whan the other go abrode to gether floures. And forsothe me thynketh / that god almyghty hath sette to gether for many good causes and conspiderations,

Xenophon

derations, that goodly couple / that is the
husbande and the wyfe, to thentente that
they shulde be moſte profitable one to an o-
ther in that good felawſhyp. If y^eſt of all
to thentent that mankynd do not decaye and
faile, this ioly couple lieth to gether and in-
gendzeth childzen. Than againe by reason
herof, they bzyng forth chyliden to helpe &
ſocour the in they^r olde age. Moze ouer
the maner and lyuynge of men, doth greatly
differ from the lyfe of wylde beaſtis, the
whiche be alway abzode in the feldeſ. For
it is mete for men to haue houſes. Where-
foze it is conuenient / that they / whiche wylle
haue ſomwhat to bzyng in to their houſes /
haue mē with them to do thoſe warkeſ / that
muſte be done abzode in the feldeſ. For
tyllynge of the grounde, ſowynge of the
corne / ſettyng of trees, & keepynge of beaſtis
at graſſe and paſture, be all done abzode.
Butt againe it is nedeful, whan thoſe frutes
be conueyed in to the houſe / to ouerſe & ſane
them / and to do all ſuche thynges as muſte
be done at home. Wabis and yonge chyl-
dzen muſte nedes be bzoughte vpe within
the houſe. Bzeadde muſte be baked / and
the meate ſodde & dzeſſed within the houſe.
Alſo ſpynnyng / cardynge / and weauynge /
muſte

why wed-
locke was
ordeyned.

musste be done within the house.

And where that bothe those thynges, that musste be done abrode, and those that be done within the house do require care and diligence: me thynkethe that god hathe caused nature to shewe playnlye, that a woman is bozne to take hede of all suche thynges, as musste be done at home. For he hath made man of bodye / harte / and stomacke stronge and myghtye to suffre and endure hete and colde, to iourneye, and go a warfare. Wherfore god hath in a manner commaunded and charged hym with those thynges / that be done abrode oute of the house. He also remembrynge, that he hath ordeyned the woman to brynge up yonge chyldren, he hath made her farre more tender in loue towarde her chyldren than the husbände. And where he hath ordeyned, that the woman shulde kepe those thynges, that the man getteth and bryngeth home to her, and he knowynge verye well, that for to kepe a thyng surelye, hit is not the worste poynte to be doubtful and fearefull, he dealed to her a greatte deale more feare, than he dyd to the man.

And he also perceyvyng, that if any man dothe hym wronge, the whiche labourer

and

A house
wyfes
office.

Xenophon

and worketh without, he must defende hym
 selfe, he distributed to the man a great deale
 more boldnes. And for bicause it beho-
 ueth, that bothe they do gyue and receyue,
 he hath gyuen them indifferently remem-
 brance and diligence, in so moche / that it is
 harde to discern, whether kinde hath more
 of them / either the man or the woman.
 He hath also graunted them indifferently to
 refraine them selves from suche thinges, as
 is conuenient they do. And hath gyuen
 them power and auctorite, that loke in what
 thyng the either of them dothe the better /
 he bringeth the more away with hym. But
 bicause the natures and the dispositions of
 them bothe be not egallye so perfecte in all
 these thinges, they haue so moche the more
 nede the one of the tother. And this couple
 is so moche the more profitable the one to
 the tother, bicause that that the one lacketh
 the tother hath. wherfore good wyse,
 seinge we se that, whiche god hath ordeined
 for vs bothe, we muste enforce / and ende-
 uour our selves to do bothe our parties in the
 beste wyse. The lawe semeth to comforte
 vs and exhort vs to it, the whiche coupleth
 man & wyse to gether. And lyke wyse as
 god maketh them come to gether to gette
 children /

chilzen, So the lawe wyll haue them linc
 to gether partakers one of an others goods
 in good felawshyp. Lyke wyse the
 lawe beweteth, and god commandeth, that it
 is beste for eche of them to do theyr parte.
 For it is moze honestie for a womā to kepe
 her house, than to walke aboute. And it is
 moze shame for a man to byde slonggynge
 at home / than to applie his mynde to suche
 thynges as muste be done abrode. But if
 any man dothe contrarie to that that he is
 naturallly bozne to / peradventure god wyll
 remembre, that he breaketh his statutis and
 decrees / and wyll punishe hym / outher for
 bicause he is negligent in that that he shulde
 do / or elles bycause he taketh vpon hym
 that that belongeth to the wyse. We
 thynketh also / that the maistres bee / that
 kepeth the hyue, dothe lyke wyse that that
 god hath ordeyned her into. And what
 dothe the maistres bee, sayde he, wherby
 it may be likened to that that I muste do.
 For bicause, sayde he, hit bydeth alwaye in
 the hyue, and wyll not suffre no bees to be
 ydell: and they that shulde worke without /
 he sendeth the to theyr worke. And what
 so euer any of them byngeth home / he
 marketh / receyuethe, and sauethe it, vntyll the

D

tyme

A good en-
 sample of
 bees.

Xenophon

tyme come that hit muste be occupied . And
whan the tyme cometh, that it muste be oc-
cupied / than he distributeth every thing ac-
cording as equite requireth . And he cau-
seth them that do byde within to weane and
make the faire hony comes after the beste
wise, and taketh hede to the yonge bees, that
they be well fedde and brought uppe . But
whan they be come to that age / and to that
point, that they be able to worke, he sendeth
them out with one, the whiche they folowe
as their gyde and capitayne . And muste
I do so to, sayde my wyfe : Ye forsothe
sayde I : for ye muste alway byde within
the house, and those men / the whiche muste
worke abroad, ye must sende them to it : and
they that muste worke within, ye must com-
mande them, and be ouer them, to se them
do it . And that that is brought in / ye must
receiue it. And that, whiche muste be spente
of it, ye muste parte and deuide it. And that
that remaineth, ye muste ley it vp and kepe
it safe tyl tyme of nede. And beware / that
that / whiche was apoynted to be spente in a
twelue month, be not spente in a month .
And whan the wolfe is brought in to you,
ye muste se that hit be carded and sponne /
that clothe maye be made of hit . Also ye
muste

musste se that the corne, whiche is broughte
in to you, be not so moustye and dousty / that
hit maye not be eaten. But one thyng
specially aboue all other there is, that ye
musste be carefull foze, and that Hall gette
you great fauour and loue, that is, if any of
our seruantes, happe to falle sicke, that ye
endenour your selfe the best that ye can / not
onely to cheryshe them, but also to helpe
that they may haue their helthe agayne.

howe ser-
uantes must
be entreated

By my seythe, sayde my wyfe, hit is a
verye gracions and a kynde dede. For
whan they be ones holpen, and eased / they
wyl cunne vs very good thanke, and be the
moze lounge and seythfull vnto vs.

And me thoughte, sayde Ischomachus,
that hit was an answer of a good and an
honeste wyfe. And by the reason of this
good prouision of this maistres bee, sayde
I, all the tother beare so good loue and af-
fection vnto her, that whan so euer she goth
out of the hyue / there wyl none tarpe be
hynde, but all wayte vpon her.

Than my wyfe answered me. I do great
lye marnayle / whether suche thynges, as
ye saye the maistres bee dothe, do not be-
longe moche moze to you than to me.

For my keepng and departing within, were

Dis.

but

Xenophon

But a littell woꝛthe, excepte ye byd your diligence, that somewhat myght be bzought in. And my bzynngynge in, sayde I, wulde anaple but a littell, excepte there were one / that kepte & saued that, that I bzought in.

Do ye not se, sayde I, howe enery man hath great pite of them, the which, they say, that their punisshement is to poure water in to tubbes full of hookes, tyll they be full. And they pite them for nothinge els, but by cause they seme to labour in Bayne. By my sayth, said my wyfe, they be very miserable in dede, the which do so. There be other thynges, that belonge to you to take hede of, the which muste nedes be very pleasant vnto you / as whan ye haue taken one in to your seruice, that can nother spynne nor carde / if ye teache her to do it, hit shall be twyse so moche moze woꝛthe vnto you. And if ye haue a maide, the which is outher negligent, or is not trewe of her handes, or that can not wayte, if ye make her diligent, trustye, and a good seruant, all shall be to your great pꝛofette. And agayne, whan ye se your seruantes good and sobze felowes, and pꝛofitable for our house / ye muste do them good / and Bewe them some gentilnes. But if there be any of the knauishe or fro-
warde,

warde, ye muste punishe them. And this
agayne shulde be moste pleasant of all, if ye
coude make your selfe better than I, and
make me as it were your seruant. And ye
nede not fere lesse in pces of tyme, whan
ye come to age, ye be lesse set by : but be ye
sure of this, if ye be diligent, lounge, and
tendable to me, our childzen, and householde,
the elder that ye waue / the moze honozable
and better esteemed shal ye be. For it is not
the beautilfules, and goodlye shappe, but
the very vertue and goodnes that men re-
garde, and fauour.

I remembre good Socrates, that my
firste communication with her, was after this
maner. And dyd ye perceiue, good Ischo-
machus, saide I, that by the reason of this,
he was any thyng moued to be moze dili-
gent? Yes verily, saide Ischomachus.
And I sawe her vpon a time soze an angerd
with her selfe, and greatly a shamed / that
whan I asked her a thyng, that I hadde
broughte home, he coude not fette hit me.
And whan I sawe that hit greued her very
soze / I said vnto her. Take neuer the moze
thoughte for the matter, if ye can not gyue
me that that I aske you. For it is a token
of pouerte in very dede, whan a man lacketh

Xenophon

a thyng / that he can not haue. But this
mede may be suffered a great deale better /
whan a man sekethe a thyng and can not
fynde it / than if at the begynnynge he dothe
not seke for it / knowyng that he hath it not.
But as for this ye be not to be blamed, saide
I, but I my selfe / seinge I haue not apoyne
ted you a place, where to leye euery thyng
that ye myghte knowe, where ye shulde set
hit, and where to fette hit agayne.

The praise
and profyt
of order.

There is nothyng, good swete wyfe, so
profitable and so goodlye amonge men, as
is an order in euery thyng.

In playes and enterludes, where a great
company of men is assembled to playe their
partes, if they shulde rassyly do and saye /
what so euer selle in to theyr Braynes, hit
wolde be but a trouble and a busynes / and
no pleasure to beholde them. But whan
they do and speake euery thyng in order /
the audience hath a verye greatte pleasure
bothe to beholde them, ye and also to here
them.

And like wise an armie of men swete wyfe,
said I, that is out of order, and sette out of
good arraye / is a verye great confusion, in
daunger to be lightlye ouer come of theyr
enemies, and a verye pitous and miserable
sight

sighte to their frendes, as whan there is to
gether in a plumpe, asses, fotemen, cartes /
Baggage / and men of armes. And howe
shulde they go forwarde, whan they do let
one an other? He that gothe letteth hym
that runneth, he that rounneth distourbeth
hym, that standeth styll, the carte letteth the
ma of armes, the asse the carte / the baggage
the fote man. And if they shulde come to
the pointe / that they must fighte / how conde
they fight beinge in that taking? For whā
they be faine, by the reason of their il order,
to flee their owne company, that letteth the,
howe coude they, thus fleinge, ouer come
them, that set vpon them in good order of
batayle, & wel weaponed? But the armie,
that is wel ordred and kept in good array /
is a very pleasaunt sighte to theyr frendes /
and greuous to their ennies. What frende
is there, but that he wyll haue a very great
plesure to se the fote men marche forward
in good order and arraye? What is that
man, but he wyll maruayle whan he behol-
deth a greatte nombze of men of armes ry-
dyng in good arraye and order? And
what ennies wyll not be aferde, whan he se-
eth moztspikes, bylles / men of armes / crosse
bowes, and also archers, the whiche folowe
D.iiij, their

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their capitaynes in good arraye and order
of bataile : And also whan they marche
forwarde in good array, if they be neuer so
many thousandes, yet they walke as pesibly
as though there were but one man alone .

And what maketh a galee wel furnisshed
with men, feareful to the enmies, and plea-
saunt to beholde vnto frendes , but that hit
gotth so swyftly ? And what maketh them
that be in it / that they do not trouble one an
other / but that they do sytte in order / keke
& make signes in order, lye downe in order,
ryse in order, drawe the oozes in order ?
And as for confusion & misorder / me thyn-
keth hit is lyke / as if a man of the countree
wuld put together on a heape, otes, wheate,
barlye, and pease / and whan he had nede to
occupie any of them , he wulde be fayne to
trie hit out, and put hit by hit selfe agayne .
Wherfore swete wyse / ye shall lyghtly es-
cewe suche confusion , if ye putte to your
good wyll to set in good order that that we
haue, and take to you that that ye haue nede
of / and spare not : and gyue to me that that
I call for grationly . And let vs seke out
and prepare a handsome place to sette euery
thyng in / accorpyng as euery thyng re-
quireth . And whan we haue sette it there /
let

Let vs Bewe hit the seruante, that he maye
fetcche hit, and laye hit vpppe there agayne.
And thus we shall knowe / what we haue
saued, & what we haue losse. For the place
hit selfe shall lacke that that it shulde haue.
And the sight wyl serche out that that hath
nede of helpe / and make vs to knowe anone
where liethe euery thyng, so that we shall
not be to seke, whan we haue nede of hit.

I remembze good Socrates, that vpon a
tyme I wente a bourde a vpppe of Phe-
nicia, where I behelde the goodlyest order
and the mooste perfecte that euer I sawe.

I consydered howe great abundance of im-
plimentes was in that smalle vessell.

The order
of a shyp.

There were many oozes, and many other
thynges made of wodde: with the whiche
they bypunge the vpppe in to, and out of the
hauen. What a sorte of Browdes, halfers,
cables, lines, and other takeling was there?
With howe many ingins of warre bothe to
defende it selfe, and to greue an enmie, was
hit armed: what a sighte of armour and
weapons for the men / carpe they about with
them. Moze ouer, they carpe with them
moche vitayle and other necessaries / that
men vse at home in their houses. Besyde al
this, hit was laded, with suche stouffe and

D.S.

goodes

Xenophon

goodes, as the Wypppe maister gettelhe by
the cariage therof. And all this geare
that I speake of, was stowed in so littell a
rowme, that a farre greater place wolde
not hane receyued it / if hit shulde hane bene
remoned. And I marked howe everye
thyng was so well sette in good order /
that no one thyng dyd lette an other, nor
hadde no nede to be longe soughte for:
Nor were not so scatered, and so yll com-
pacte, that a man shulde tarpe longe for hit /
whan he shulde occupie hit quickely. And
he that wayted vpon the Patrone of the
Wypppe / that is to saye, he that standethe in
the fore parte of the Wypppe, I perceyued,
that he hadde everye place so well in his
mynde, that though he were not there /
he wolde telle you redilye, where everye
thyng laye, none other wyse than he that
is lerned, can telle howe many letters go
to this worde, Socrates, and in what
place every letter is sette. Noze over,
I sawe hym, whan he was serchyng and
castyng in his mynde, howe many thynges
a Wypppe hath nede of: Than I marnay-
lyng wheron he mused and studied, asked
hym, what he meaned. I considre and cast
afore hande good man, quod he, if any thing
shulde

Shulde chaunce / howe and in what redynes
euery thyng lyeth in the hypppe / whether
any thyng lieth out of his place, or if euery
thyng be not trymmed to the purpose.

For hit is no tyme, when god sendeth vs a
storme on the see / to be sekynge that that we
nede of / nor to bypunge forth that that is not
hansome & well trymmed. For god thret-
neth & punisheth them that be ydel & negli-
gent. And we may be glad, if he do not de-
stroy vs, when we do our deutie. And if he
saneth them / that vse great labour and di-
ligence, they oughte to thanke hym greatly.
Wherefore when I perceyued and sawe that
goodly and perfecte order, I saide vnto my
wyfe, that hit shulde be great skonthe and
negligence vnto vs, if they, whiche be but
in littell hyppes and smalle vessels, fynde
fete places to stowe euery thyng in, that
they carpe with them, And thoughe they
be soze shaken and troubled / and continu-
allye in great feare, yet they kepe a good
order, And we that haue so goodly places,
and a house standynge stedfastlye on the
lande, coude not fynde places mete and co-
uenient for to sette euery thyng in, howe
moche oughte we to be blamed of lewdnes
and smalle wysedome &

Xenophon

We haue sufficiently spoken howe profitable it is to sette all the implimentes of the house in good order, and to sette euery thing in suche a redines / in places mete therfore, that hit may be easie to fynde and come by when neede requireth. But howe goodly a thyng is it to se sekotis of all a mannes apparel, lienge by it selfe, keuerlettes, & counterpoyntes by them selves, Betes, towels, and al nappe ware by them selves / pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of the ketchyn by them selfe, al that longeth to the table by it selfe / and so lyke wyse of all other thynges, that longe to an house, wher at he that is vnwyse, and knoweth not good order wyll laugh. And whether it be so or not my swete wife, we may lightly proue without great cost / and with small labour. And ye muste not trouble your selfe / as though it were an harde thyng to fynde one, that coude lerne the places / and remembre where to sette euery thing. For we knowe well, that in the citie there is a thousande tymes moze ware than we haue: but yet what so euer seruant ye wyll commande to go and bye you somewhat / in the market / he wyll not stande styl, as though he coude not tel what to do, but by the reason that he remembreth,

membzeth, where he hath sene of it / he goth
thither streighte waye, and fetcheth hit.

And surely ther is none other cause of this /
said I / but that there is a place determined,
where one Ball haue hit. But if one se-
keth a man / the whiche seeketh hym to / may
fortune he wyll often tymes be soner werpe
than he can synde hym. And of this lyke
wyse there is none other cause, but that ther
is no place appointed, where the tone Bulde
tary for the tother. As for setting in or-
der of the householde stouffe / and of the vse
of hit, I remembre I spake vnto her after
this maner. And howe thoughte ye by
your wyfe good Ischomachus, sayde I ?
whether dyd he obeye you in that thyng /
that ye taught her so busily ? Isch. what
wuld I say / but that he promised to applie
her mynde vnto it. And me thought verily
by her countinaunce / he was very gladde /
that where afore he was in a great doubt
and perplexitie / he had founde a good way
in it, and besoughte me, that I wolde make
an order of euery thing, as I had saide vnto
her as soone as was possible. And what
order did you see his good Ischomachus
said I ? Ischo. what order wuld I see
her but this ? fyrste me thought best to
see

Xenophon

Bewe her, what a house properly was ordeyned for. For hit is not ordeyned to be gorgeouslye peynted with diuers faire pictures, but it is builded for this purpose & consideration, that it shulde be a profitable vessel for those thinges, that shuld be in it. Wherefore in a maner it byddeth the dwellers, to lay vp euery thyng, where it is most mete to put it. The inner priuey chābre, bicause it standeth strongest of all / loketh for to haue the iewels, plate, and all suche thynges as be moste precious. The dyne places loken for the wheate, The colde for the wyne. And bygyht places do despyze suche woorkes and thynges, as require lightsomnes.

Moze ouer, I Bewed her howe parlours & dynyng places, wel trymmed & dresseh, for men to eat & drynke in, in sommer shuld be colde, & in winter hotte. And I Bewed her howe al the situation of the house was very moche southward, wherby it may be clerely vnderstande, that in winter the sonne lighteth wel fauourdly vpon it, and in somer there is goodly shadowe in it. Further, I Bewed her the nourcerie & the womens lodgyng, diuided from the mens lodgyng, lest there came out any thyng amisse, & our seruantes shulde get them chyldzen without our consent.

sentement. For they that be good / if they
haue children throughte our permission, they
woll lone vs the better. And they that be
noughte, if they come ones to couple with a
woma, they wil finde the more wayes / & the
better wyse to fulfyl their Ingratiousnes.
And after we had spoken thus, saide he, we
wente and deuided the household stouffe, by
sextes and sortes after this maner. First
we dyd put to gether all maner of thynges
longynge to sacrifices. Nexte to that the
good wyues apparell, both for holy dayes
and workynge dayes, and afterwarde the
good mannes apparayle bothe for the holy
dayes, & also for warre, Clothes for mens
chambres, and for the nourcerie, mennes
Howes, and womens Howes, Than we ap
pynted out the instrumentes, that belonge
to spinning & cardyng, and suche as pertaine
to the bake house, to the kechyn, to the bathe,
& to the Boulting house. we dyd seporate a
sonder those thynges, that shuld be occupied
alwaye, from those, that be occupied but at
diner & souper. And we dyd seporate that
that we shulde spende in a montthes space /
and that that was appoynted to serue vs a
twelue monthe. For so it is the better know
we, in what maner it is brought to an ende.

And

Xenophon

And after we had seperated all the house-
holde stouffe in sewtis and soztis / we dyd
set enery thyng in a place conuenient.

Afterwarde all the instrumentes that our
seruantes must occupie dayly, as for the bake
house, for the ketchyn / for spynnyng and
cardyng, and other lyke, we dyd shewe them
the place, wher they shuld put them agayne,
and than deliuered them / & bade them kepe
them safe. And as for suche thynges, as
shulde be occupied but seldome, or by holp
dayes, or whan there came any straungers
vnto vs, or at certayne other tymes, in cer-
tayne busynesse, we deliuered them vnto a
woman, that we made the keeper of our store
house / and shewed her the place / wher they
shulde be sette. And whan we had made a
rekenyng vnto her of all, and also wrytten
enery thyng, we bade her, that she shulde
deliuer them forth as tyme and nede requir-
ed, and that she shulde remembre well to
whom she deliuered any thyng, And whan
she receyued it agayne / that she shulde lay it
by / wher she had hit before. And to be
keeper of our store house, we appoynted her,
that seemed vnto vs moste sobre and tempe-
rate in eatyng, drynkyng / and slepyng, and
that she coude very wel refrayne the company
of

of men : and that semed also to haue a very
good remembrance / and that wold beware
to be founde in a faute throughte her negli-
gence / lest she shulde displease vs with hit /
and seke the meane to do that that shulde
please vs / that she myghte be praysed and
rewarded for hit. Moze ouer we taughte
her to haue a good wyll towarde vs, and to
loue vs, for bicause that whan there was
any thyng happened, that made vs ioyfull
and gladde, we made her partaker of hit /
and if we were sorrowfull and heuy for any
matter / we called her, and shewed her the
same. Furthermoze we taught her to sette
her good wyll and her good mynde to en-
crease our house, teachyng her the way and
the maner howe. And if any thyng for-
tuned well to vs / we gaue her parte of it.
Also we taughte her to be iuste and trewe in
her busynes, and to esteeme and set moze by
them, that were good and rightfull, than
by them that were false and vntrewe : And
we shewed her howe they lyued in moze
welthe & moze libertie, than they that were
false and vntrustye. And so thus we dyd
sette her in the rowme. And at the laste
good Socrates, sayde he, I sayde vnto my
wyfe / that all this shulde auayle nothyng /

E

excepte

Xenophon

except he toke diligent hede / that euery thing
might remaine styl in good order. I taught
her also howe in cōmon welthes, & in good
cites / that were wel ruled & ordered, it was
not inough for the citizens and dwellers, to
haue good lawes made vnto the, except that
they beside chose men to haue the ouersight
of the same lawes, the whose duetie shuld be
to se, that they, the which do wel, and accor-
ding to the lawe, may be praised, & he that
doth the contrary, to be punished. And so
I had my wife, that she shuld thike her selfe
to be, as if it were the ouerseer of the lawes
within our house : and that she shuld, when
she thought best, ouerse the stuf, vessell / &
implementes of our house / none other wyse
thā the capitaine of a garison ouerseeth and
proneth the sondiours, how euery thing sta-
deth : or like wise as the Senate & the coun-
sell of Athenes ouerseeth & maketh a proffe
both of the men of armes, and also of theyr
horses. And that she shuld praise & reward
hym, that were worthy, to her power / as
if she were a quene, And blame, ye and pun-
nish hym, that doth deserue it. Beside
all this I taught her, that she shuld not be
displeased, if I did put her to moze busines,
& charged her with mo thinges to be done in
the

A good
wifes
dutie.

the house, than any servant I had, Bewinge
her, that pzentis & couenāt seruātes haue no
moze of their maisters goodes, but as moch
as they deliuer them, to do theyz maysters
seruice with all, or to bestowe it in their be-
halfe, or to kepe it for them: & they may oc-
cupie none of hit to theyz owne vse, excepte
their maisters do giue it them. But he that
is the maister / he hath all, & may vse enery
thyng at his owne pleasure, wherfore he
that hath mooste pzoofit by it, if his goodes be
safe, hath mooste losse, if they be losse or peri-
shed: I Bewed her, it were reason he shulde
be mooste diligent, & take beste hede about it.
Than saide I. Good Ischomachus, whan
your wife harde this, howe did she take it &
what will ye haue any moze of it good So-
crates / but that she said: I knew her not wel
if I thought it did greue her, that I shulde
teache her to take hede to her goodes & sub-
staunce. For it shuld haue ben moze greuous
vnto me a great dele, said she, if ye had bade
me to take no hede to my goodes / than to
bydde me to be dilygent aboute that that
is myn owne. For me thinketh, that like
wyse, as it is naturallly giuen to a good
woman, rather to be dilygent aboute her
owne chyl dren than not to care for them.

E.ij.

Lyke

Xenophon

Lyke wyse it is moze pleasure for an honest woman to take hede to her owne goodes, than to set noughte by them.

And whan I harde, sayde Socrates, that his wife gaue him suche an answer, I said: By my faythe Ischomachus, ye tell me of a iolpe and a manlye stomacke of a woman. Ye, sayde he, ye shall here me telle you other thynges yet, that wyl well betwe her good lustye harte, that whan she had harde but ones speake of it, streighte way she dyd after me in it. So. I pray you tel me that, for surelye I haue moze pleasure a greatte deale, to lerne the vertue of a woman aliue, than if Zenxis the excellent peynter shulde betwe me the picture & portrature of a faire woman. Than sayde Ischomachus, whan I had sene her vpon a tyme / that she hadde peynted her face with a certayne oyntment, that she myghte seme whitter than she was, and with an other oyntment, that she myght seme redder than she was in very dede, and that she had a peyze of highe bowes on her fete, to make her seme taller woman than she was, I sayd vnto her: Tell me, good wyse, whether wolde ye inge me worthyer to be beloued, if our goodes and substaunce now beinge common one to an other, if I shulde

Wulde Bewe you that that I haue in verpe dede, and make nother moze of hit, noz no lesse than it is in verp dede / and kept nothig pziuey from you : oz if I wente aboute to decepue you, sayinge I hadde moze than I haue, and Bewyng you false money, cheines of Bzasse in stede of golde, countrefete precious stones, redde in the stede of scarlette / false purpuil in the stede of pure and good : Than He answered streighte waye. God forbide ye Wuld be suche one : For if ye were suche one, I coude not fynde in myn harte to loue you. I wyl tel you wyse, we be come to gether to thintent to haue pleasure of the body one of an other, at the lest men say so : whether than, seinge I muste gyue you my body to vse with you, were I better to be beloued after your iugement, if I studied and wente aboute to make my bodye seme the lustier, the stronger, the better coloured / the better complectioned / and Wulde noynt my face with certayne opntmētes, and so Bewe me vnto you, and lie with you / and gyue you these opntementes to se and to handle in the stede of my colour and of myne owne face : Forsoth, sayd He, I Wulde neuer haue moze pleasure in handlynge any opntement in the stede of your face / noz delite moze in thynge

Xenophon

counterfeted, than in your very eyes & your naturall face. Thynke lyke wyse by me good wyse, saide Ischomachus, that I haue no moze pleasure in oyntmentes, than I haue in your owne natural body and face. And like wise as god hath made horses to haue pleasure with maares, bulles with kyne, rammes with ewes, so lyke wyse men do thinke that body most plesant, that is pure. And as for suche wyles and deceites / they may parauenture begyle strangers, so that they shal neuer be spied, but they that be dai ly cōuersant to gether, they shal lightly perceiue, if the one go aboute to deceiue the other. For they wyll be spied, either whan they rise out of their bed, befoze they make them redye, or whan they sweate, or whan they wepe, or whan they washe and bathe them. So. And I pray you, said I, what an answer made he to it. Isch. what, said I? By my faith he wente neuer sens about no suche maters, but bewed her selfe alway pure with as good comelines as myght be. And he asked me, whether I conde giue him any counsaile howe he shulde be fapzer in dede, & not only appere so. And thā I gaue her counseyle, that he shuld not sit styl like a slaue or a bounde woman, but go about the house

House like a maistres, & se howe the woꝝkes
 of the house wete foꝝwarde: some tymes to
 the weauing womē, both to teche them that
 we can do better than they, & also to marke
 who dothe better oꝝ woꝝse. some tymes to
 loke vpon her that baketh the bread. some ti
 mes to loke vpon her, that kepeth the stoꝝe
 house, to se her set vp and met that that we
 weaue. some times to bestyr her selfe lo
 king if eneri thing be set vp in his place. Foꝝ
 I rekened, that this shulde be bothe a waye
 to take hede to the house, & also shuld serue
 foꝝ a good walke. Also I sayde it were a
 good exercise to washe, to boustle, to bake,
 to make keuerlettes, bagynnes, tappessary
 ware, & to set the vp againe in their places.
 Foꝝ I said, if we did so what to exercise her
 selfe / we shulde haue the moze luste to her
 meate, we shuld be the moze helthie, & gette
 better fauoured coloure in very dede. And al
 so the sight of the maistres being moze clea
 ner & far better apparailled, & settinge her
 hāde to woꝝke, & in a maner striuig with her
 seruantes who shalle do moꝝte, is a great
 coꝝfoꝝte vnto them, that be vnder her, special
 ly whā it lieth in them, either to do her plea
 ser in doing of their woꝝke with a good wil,
 oꝝ to be compelled to do it aginst thier willes.

Xenophon

But they that alwaye do stande styll like
quenes in theyr maiestie / they wyll be onely
inged of those women that be triumphantly
arrayde, the whiche do deceyue them.

And nowe, sayde he, good Socrates be ye
sure, he lieth euen as I haue taughte her,
and as I tell you.

So. Than saide I. Good Ischomachus,
me thinketh ye haue sufficiently spoken tou-
chyng the behanour of your wyfe, and of
you, to the great prayse of you bothe : but
nowe I pray you, tell me your owne dedes,
that bothe ye may reioyce in tellynge suche
thynges / the whiche do gette you so good a
name. And whan I haue harde and lerned
the woordes and dedes of a good honest mā,
I may gyue you suche thākis as ye deserue,
and accorдынge to my power. By my
faythe, sayde Ischomachus, I wyll be glad
to tell you all, what so euer I do, to thin-
kent ye may correcte me, if ye thynke I do
not wel in some thyng. Socra. Ye but
tell me, howe coude I correcte you, seinge
that ye be come to this poynte to be a good
honeste man, specially whan I am the man,
that is taken for a trisler, that occupieth him-
selfe in nothyng, but in measurynge of the
aier : And that that is a very soze rebuke,
and

and a token of most great folly, I am called
 a poure man. And I assure you, that name
 wolde haue troubled me very soze / if I had
 not mette the tother daye by chaunce one
 Nicias Hozs, a sene moche people that came
 after to beholde him, and harde very moche
 talkyng of hym. And in very dede I came
 to the hozsekeper and asked hym, whether
 the hozse had moche money oz not. And he
 loked vpon me as though I had ben madde
 to aske hym suche a pyuisse question / and
 said: Howe shuld a hozse haue any money?
 And so I turned me euen backe agayn, whā
 I harde / it was lausfull for a poure hozse to
 be good, if he had a good free harte and sto-
 macke with hym. And therfore I praye
 you, seinge it is lyke wise lausful for a poure
 man to be good, that ye wyll telle me your
 maner of lyuyng to the vitermoste poynte,
 to thentent that whan ye haue tolde me, I
 may endenoir my selfe to lerne hit: & from
 this day forward to begynne to folowe you
 and do after you. For that may be called
 a very good daye, on the whiche a man be-
 gynneth to be good and vertuons. I know
 well ye ieste with me good Socrates, sayde
 Ischomachus: but yet I wyll tell you as
 far forth as I can, the holle course of my

E.S.

life,

The name
of pouerte.

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Kenophon

life, the whiche I purpose to folowe styll
tyll the last day of my lyfe.

After that I had wel perceyued / that ex-
cept a man knoweth what is to be done, and
wyl set and applie his mynde and diligēce
to perfozme the same, god granteth no man
to do well. And Into them, that be bothe
wyse and diligent, god sendeth welthe and
good fortune. Wherfoze firste of all I be-
ganne to honour and woꝝshyp god / and to
calle vpon hym with my prayers / that he
wold vouchesafe to sende me the grace, that
I might haue my helthe, strength of body /
honour in my cite, good wyl of my frendes,
to retorne home againe safe from warfare /
with the encrease of my riches and goodes.
Socra. And whan I harde that / I sayde :
And care ye so moche to waxe riche, seinge
that whan ye be riche, ye haue the moze
trouble, in studienge howe to order and kepe
your goodes ? Yes mary, saide Ischoma-
chus, I haue no smalle care of that that ye
aske me. For me thynketh it is great plea-
sure bothe to woꝝshyp god honozably, and
to helpe my frendes / if they be in nede, and
to se that the cite be not depzined of the or-
namētes of riches, as moche as lieth in me.
Socra. By my sayth that that ye say good
Ischo

Ischomachus, is good and also very honorable / a longynge to a man of great power & substance. Ischo. It must nedes be thus. For there be some men, the whiche can not lyue, but they muste be holpen of other men. And there be many agayne / that reken hit sufficient, if they can gette that / that is necessarye for them. But those that wyll not onely order and gyde theyr houses / but also haue so great abundance, that they do bothe honour to the citie / and also helpe and ease theyr frendes : why shuld not they be called and taken for men of profounde wisdom, of great power, and of stout stomacke ? Socra. Surely there be many of vs, sayde I, that may wel praise suche maner of men. But for goddis sake telle me euen from the place, where ye beganne, howe ye go aboute to mainteine your helth, and also the strength of your body / howe it may be laufull to retourne honozably home agayne safe fro the warre. For as touching the encreasinge of goodes, we shal here of it afterwarde sufficiently. But me thinketh, saide Ischo, that these thynges be linked to gether, & come one after an other. For when a man hath meate & drinke sufficiently, if he do labour wel, he shal haue his helth the better and the longer.

And

Xenophon

And he that is well exercised in warre, he
shall returne home safe agayne / and with
more honour. And he that is diligent, and
doth not coker hym selfe, nor geue him selfe
to slouth and idelnes / he is the more likely
to encrease his house. So. Forsothe good
Ischomachus, I graunte you all this euen
hitherto, where ye say, that he that labou-
reth, taketh payne, useth diligence, and ex-
erciseth him selfe, cometh the rather to good-
des. But what labour ye vse to mainteine
a good complexion, and to get you strength,
and howe also ye exercise your selfe for the
warre / and howe ye studie to get so moche
substance and goodes / that ye maye bothe
helpe your frendes / and make the citie more
honorable and stronger by it, that wolde I
very sayne here. Verily good Socrates
saide Ischomachus, I ryse in the mornynge
out of my bedde so verly, that if I wol speke
with any man, I shall be sure to fynde hym
yet within. And if I haue any thyng ado
in the citie, I go aboute it, and take hit for a
walke. And if I haue no matter of great
importance to do within the citie, my page
bryngeth my horse afoze in to the felde,
and so I take the way to my grounde for a
walke, better parauenture than if I dyd
walke

walke in the galleries and walkynge places
of the cite. And whā I come to my ground,
if my tenants be eyther settynge of trees,
oz tyllynge oz renewynge the ground / oz
sowynge, oz carienge in the frute, I beholde
howe euery thyng is done, and caste in my
mynde, howe I myghte do hit better. And
afterwarde for the moste parte, I get me a
horsebacke and ryde as nere as I can, as
though I were in warre constrayned to do
the same, wherfoze I do nat spare nother
croked wayes, noz no Browde goinges vp,
no ditches / waters / hedges / noz trenches /
takynge hede for all that as nere as can be
possible, that in this doinge, I do not maime
my horse. And whan I haue thus done,
the page leadeth the horse trottyng home
again, and carieth home with hym in to the
cite, out of the countre that that we haue
nede of. And so than I get me home again,
some tymes walking, and some tymes run-
nyng. Than I washe my handes, and so
go to diner good Socrates, the whiche is
ordayned betwene bothe, so that I abyde al
the day nother boyde noz yet to full. So.
By my trouthe good Ischomach^o, ye do these
thynges wonders pleasantly. For in dede
to vse & occupie at ones al maner of thynges,
that

Xenophon

that be ordeined for helthe, for strength, for
exercise of warre / for study and conueiance
howe to get goodes / and all in one tyme, me
thinketh a maruailous thyng. For ye do
shewe euident tokens, that ye applie your
minde wel & truly to al this. For we se you
commonly, thanked be god / for the most parte
helthful, stronge and lusty. More ouer we
know, that ye be called one of the best horse
men, and one of the richest men of the citie.
Ischo. And though I thus do, as ye haue
hard, yet can not I eschewe detraction: ye
thoughte peradventure that I wolde haue
sayde, I am therfore called a good honeste
man. So. And forsothe so I was aboute
to say good Ischomach^s, But this I thought
first to enquire of you, whether ye do studie
and set your mynde, howe to answer these
detractours / and speake in a cause, whether
it be your owne or an other mans, or to inge
it, if nede be. Ischo. Thinke you that I do
not sufficiently my parte in this matter / if I
thike by my good dedes to defende my selfe,
and do no wronge / and as moche as I may
helpe and do pleasure to many men? And
more ouer, thinke ye that it is not well done
to accuse suche men, that do wronge both to
private men, and also to the citie / and that
wyll

wyll do no man good & So. But yet if ye
 set your mynde to suche thynges / I praye
 you shewe it me & Ischo. Forsoth I neuer
 stint, but am alway exercising my selfe in re
 tozicke & eloquence. For whan I here one
 of my seruantes compleyne on an other / or
 answere in his owne cause, I seke to knowe
 the trouthe. Agayne / I either blame
 some man to my frendes, or els praise him,
 or els I go aboute to brynge at one some
 men of min acquaintance, that be at variace,
 endeuorynge my selfe to shewe them / howe
 hit is moze for their profette to be frendes /
 than yf wyllers and ennies. And befoze
 the high rulers I vse both to commende and
 defende hym, that is oppzessed by wzonge
 and iniurie / and befoze the lordes of the cou
 seile I accuse hym, that I se promoted vno
 worthily, & I praise that that is done by cou
 saile & deliberation, & the contrary I disc
 mende. But I am now broughte to this
 point, that either it behoueth me to suffre or
 to punishe. So. Of whom I pray the Isch.
 For that do not I yet knowe. Isch Mary
 of my wyfe. So. But in what maner do ye
 stryue in your quarel & Isch. whan we hap
 peth to say trouthe, it is very gentylly done.
 But whan we lieth / & erretth in her wordes,
 for

stryffe
 with a
 wyfe

Xenophon

forsoth Socrates, I can not resourme her.
 So. May chance that, that is false, ye can
 not make hit trewe. But parauenture ye
 wold begone Ischmachus, and I do let you.
 Truly I wolde be lothe to tarpe you, if hit
 please you to go hēce. Ischo. No in good
 fayth, good Socrates, I wyl not go hence
 tyl the courte bzeake vp. Socra. By my
 faythe, ye be righte circumspecte and take
 good hede, that ye lose not that honozable
 name, to be called a good honeste man.
 For where parauenture ye haue many great
 businellis and thinges to take hede to, that
 require great diligence, yet bicause ye pro-
 mysed those strāgers to tary for them here,
 ye wyl not deceine them. Ischo. As for
 those my businellis that ye speake of So-
 crates, I haue prouided for thē wel inough.
 For I haue in the felde my bailles of hus-
 bandrye, and my deputies. So. But sine
 we be fall in this communication, I praye
 you Ischomachus tel me / whan ye haue nede
 of a good bayllie, do ye inquere, whether
 there be any that can do it well, and so finde
 the meane to haue hym : lyke wyse as whā
 ye haue nede of a carpenter, whan ye knowe
 where is one / that can good skylle therof /
 ye wil desire to haue hym, ozels do ye make
 your

your Bayllyes and deputies your selfe, and
 teache them to do hit : By my sayth, I in-
 deuour me to teache and instructe them my
 selfe. For he that shoulde be sufficient to do
 those thynges for me in myne absence, that
 he is put to / what nedeth he to knowe any
 thyng, but that that I do my selfe. For
 if I be sufficient to sette men a worke, and
 commaunde them what they shall do, I
 trow I am able to teache an other man that
 that I can do my selfe. Socra. Than he
 that is a Baylly of husbundry must owe you
 good wyll and fauour, and also to al yours,
 if he beinge present, shall be sufficient in your
 absence. For without loue and good wyll,
 what good can a Bayllye do, if he be neuer
 so experte and connyng? By my saythe,
 sayd Ischomachus, neuer a whyt: But as for
 me / the fyrste thyng that euer I do / I go
 aboute to teache hym to loue me and myn,
 and to loue my goodes. And I praye you
 for goddis sake tell me / howe do ye teache
 hym to loue you and yours, who so euer he
 be that ye do this benifitte vnto? By my
 sayth, sayd he, by gentyl & liberall dealing
 whan god sendeth me plenty of any maner
 thinge. Socra. This ye meane I trowe,
 that they, the whiche be eased and holpe by
 your

how to pu-
 re a ba-
 lye of hus-
 bandrye.

Xenophon

your goodes or money / do loue you and despyze that ye may do well. Surely good Socrates / sayde he / that is the beste instrument that can be to allure and gette a mans good wyll withall. Socra. And whan he beareth you good wyll good Ischomachus, is he therfore sufficient to be a baptyse? For we may se that al mē loue them selves / and yet throught slouggishenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the whiche for the moste parte they coneyte right moche to haue, as goodes. Ischo. Ye but whan I wol make suche men as loue me my baillies and ouerseers of my businesse, I instructe and monishe them befoze howe they shulde ouerse euery thyng diligently. Socra. Can ye baptyse that to passe? For sothe me thynketh it is vnkely, that any man coude be taught to gyde an other mans busines aright. Ischo. In very dede it is impossible good Socrates to instructe and teache euery man diligently to do it. Socra. And who be they that ye thinke mete to be taught and instructed? For that I despyze very greatly to knowe. Ischo. I prayste of all they that can not refraine them selves from drunkennes or excluded from this care. For drunkennes bringeth in with hit forgetfullnes of al maner

maner of thynges, that a man shulde do.
Socra. whether than is it impossible, but
onely in them, that can not refrayne them
from dyonkennes, to make them diligent,
or be there any other beside? Yes mary
sayde Ischomachus and they also that can
not refrayne them selfe from slepe. Socra.
Be there any mo besyde those? Methyn-
keth, sayde Ischomachus, that they, the
whiche do sette theyr mynde soze to the
pleasure of the fleshe / that it is imposible
to teache them to haue moze mynde to any
thyng than to that. for they can fynde no
ther hope nor study moze pleasant to them
then of theyr louers. And whan they
haue any thyng to do, it is harde to ima-
gyne a sozer punysshment than that is to
them to be kept from them they be in loue
with. Therfore I let suche maner of men go
nor neuer go about to teache them to be moze
diligent. So. Ye but they, that do set theyr
mynde soze to lucre, be not they apte to be
taught that diligence / the whiche shulde
be vsed and occupied in your groundes?
Ischomachus. Yes marpe they / there
can none be sooner brought to this dysli-
gence. For ye nede no moze but only to shewe
them, that dyspence is verie profitable.

Xenophon

wherefore if I chance to haue suche one, I
 comende him moche. So. And as for other
 men, the whiche do refrain them from suche
 thinges as ye do commande / and haue a me-
 tely good mynde towarde lucre / howe do
 ye teache them to be as diligent as ye wold
 haue them : Ischo. Marry very well good
 Socrates. For when I se them diligent, I
 do bothe pzeise and rewarde them. And a
 gayne when I se them negligent and recche-
 lesse, I both do and say al that euer I can to
 anger and bepe them with. So. Ye but Is-
 thomachus, sauinge your tale, that is of the
 that be al redy instructed to be diligent : tell
 me this, touchinge the instruction of them,
 whether it be possible for a man, that is na-
 turally negligent / to make other diligent ?
 Isch. No by my sayth / no more than he that
 hath no skyl in musike can make other men
 musitians. For hit is harde for a scholer
 to lerne that thyng well, that his maister
 teacheth yll. And it is harde for a seruant
 to vse any dysygence, when his mayster gy-
 ueth hym example of negligence. And
 shortly to speake and in generall / I do nat
 remembre, that euer I hard that any yll
 maister had any good seruantes. Marry
 this haue I sene, that a good diligēt maister

by

Diligente
 maysters
 make good
 seruantes.

By chastisynge of dulheded seruantes / hath
rightly instructed them. But he that wyll
go aboute to make other diligente in theyr
wozke, he moste specially ought to be a pro-
uident and a ware man, and ouer se and
marke their wozkes. And whan there is
any thynge wel and diligently done, he must
runne hym great thanke that dyd it / and he
muste not stycke to punishe hym wylfullye,
accozdyng as he deserueth, that is negligēt
in his busines. And forsoth me thinketh
to this purpose hit is a ryghte goodlye an-
swere / that the Persian made, For whan
the kyng of Perse asked hym / rydyng vpon
a ryght faire horse, what thynge dyd sonest
make an horse fat, he said his maisters eies.

Some thynke lyke wyse good Socrates,
by all other thynge, that the maisters eie
moste speciallye maketh hem to be in farre
better plite. So. But whan ye haue tolde
and bewed hym very well & with great in-
face / that he must take hede to suche thynges
as ye wyll haue hym, and that he is verie
diligent / is he than mete to be your baillye
or steward, or els muste he lerne somwhat
besyde to make hym fitte for that purpose.
Ischo. No it is man. For it behoueth him
yet to lerne, what he must do, and whan, and

Xenophon

Howe he shall order euery thyng. For els
what auaileth a baylye or a steward moze
without this / than a phisition / the whiche
nichte and daye / partly and late taketh hede
to a sicke man / and yet he woteth not what
is profitable for the same pacient. So And
whan he knoweth what is to be done / shall
he nede any thyng els, or shall he than be a
perfecte baylye or steward? Ischo. He
thinketh / that he shulde lerne also to rule
the worke men. So. And do ye teache your
baillie or steward to be able to rule? I go a-
bout it at leste, sayd Ischomachus. So. And
I praye you for goddes sake, howe do ye
teche men to haue the science to rule and co-
mander. Isch. Very easily good Socrates /
in so morche, that I thynke ye shall laugh at
it / whan ye here it. So. Forsoth good Ischo-
machus, sayde I, it is no matter to laugh at /
but he deserueth a ought rather to be hygh-
ly lauded, that hath the wyl to teache that.
For he that can teache men how to rule, he
can also make them maisters, & he that can
make them maisters, can make them prince-
lyke & able to be kinges. Ischo. Suerly all
maner of bestes good Socrates do serue to
obey by the reason of these two thynges, that
is to say, whan they do stryue, & wyl not be
obediente

obedient, they be punisshed : and whan they
do quickely that that a man byddeth them /
they be cherished and well intreated. Colts
and yong horses lerne to obey their bzekers
and tamers : for whan they do obey them,
they haue somwhat done to them for it / that
is to theyr pleasure & ease : But whan they
wyl not obey, they beate and handell them
very sore and roughly for it, vntyll the time
they serue the bzeke at his wyl.

And yonge spaynels lyke wise, the which be
woorse than men a great dele / for lacke of re
son, and for lacke of speache, yet they lerne
to ren a bout / to fetcche or cary / to go in to
the water after the same maner . for whan
they obey, they haue somwhat gyuen them,
that they haue nede of , and whan they wil
not nor care not for it , they be punisshed .
But as for men they may be well parswa
ded and bzought to obedience, if a man will
serue them , howe it shal be for theyr pro
fytte , if they do obey . Neuerthelesse vnto
bonde men and vile persones that way that
is vsed and occupped towarde beaustis, wyl
serue well induce them for to lerne to
obeye . for if ye do somwhat for theyr
bealpe and make them fare well, ye shal
gette very moche done of them.

Xenophon

But ioly stomackes and noble natures be
most moued and spyrred with prayse. For
there be some natures, that do desyre as
muche laude and prayse, as other do meate
and drynke. And whan I haue taught him,
that I will make my baillie or my steward /
suche thynges, the whiche whan I do them
my selfe / me thynketh I shall make men
moze obedient vnto me, I do ioyne this vnto
to hit besyde. For as touchynge hoosen
and howes, and other rayment, the whiche
I muste gyue my labozers, I make them
not a like. For ther be some better and some
wozse: to thentent that the beste wozkmen
may haue the pzeeminence to haue the bet-
ter, & the wozt may be gyuen to the wozt.
For me thynketh it greueth good seruantes
hartes very soze / whan they se that the
wozke that they haue done, and howe those
haue euen as muche as they, that wyll no-
ther labour nor take payne, whan it beho-
ueth to do it. Wherefore nother I my selfe
wyll not suffre, that they that be wozt /
and they that be beste shulde be serued all a
lyke. And whan I se that my bayllies and
deputies dothe gyue the moste and the beste
to them that do beste, I do prayse hym for
it. But and I se him pzeferre any man afoze
other

other bicause of his flaterpunge, or for some
 other pynisse cause, I do not suffre it so to
 passe, but I blame and rebuke him greatly
 therfore, and I go aboute to teache him al-
 so, that that, whiche he doth, is not for his
 profite nother. So. And whan he is suf-
 ficient thus to rule and gyde, good Ischoma-
 chus, so that he can make them to obeie him,
 do ye thynke that baillye perfecte on every
 syde, or hath he nede of ony other thyng
 els? Yes mary / sayde Ischomachus, for it
 becometh him to kepe his handes cleane from
 his maysters goodes / and beware that he
 steale nothyng therof. For if he / that
 hath the frutes in his handes wolde be so
 bolde to conuey so moche out of the waye,
 that that, whiche remayned were not suffi-
 cient to maynteyne the worke and fynde the
 labourers, what profite shulde we haue
 by his bayliffyp, and by his diligence? So.
 And do you in dede take vpon you to teache
 them that iustice and rightfulness? Yes ma-
 ry, sayde Ischomachus, but I fynde that e-
 uery man dothe not obeie and folowe this
 teachinge and instruction of myn. Neuerthe-
 les I take here a pece of Drazons lawes,
 and here a pece of Solons, and so endeuour
 my selfe to bryng my seruantes to folowe
 iustice.

Xenophon

iustice. For me thinketh that these men haue
 made many lawes to teche men iustice. For
 they haue wrytten, that he muste be puny-
 shed that stealeth, and he that robbeth muste
 be put in prison and put to dethe. wherfore
 it may be clere sene, that they haue wrytten
 those thynges to the intent that they, the
 whiche do get any goodes foule and shame-
 fully, contrary to reason and equite, shoulde
 haue no vantage nor no pproft by hit. And
 whan I haue this do / I bringe in besyde
 some lawes of the kynge of Persse, to make
 my seruantes to deale ryghtfully in that
 that they be put to. For as touchynge Dra-
 cons and Solons lawes, they do no more
 but punyssh them that do amysse: but the
 kynge of Perses lawes do not only punyssh
 them that do wronge and vniustly / but also
 they do them good that be ryghtfull and
 deale iustly. wherby it appereth, that many,
 the whiche be verpe couetous / and care not
 what they do / so that they may winne, when
 they se that they, the whiche be ryghtfull
 and good / wape rycher than they / the whi-
 che do other men wronge, they continue and
 prospere well in this that they do no man
 wronge. And whan I perceyue that any of
 them, vnto the whiche I haue ben good and
Rewed

Persiens
 lawes.

Bestowed pleasure vnto them, wyll not leaue,
But go about styll to do wronge and deale
vniustly, than whan I perceyue that he is
past al remedy, I put hym out of his rounge,
and wyll not let hym occupy it no moze. But
whan I perceyue, that any of them setteth
his mynde and courage to be a good / a iuste
and a true seruant, and doth it not so moche
bycause they thynke to haue some vau-
tage by hit, but for the desire that they
haue to please me, and to be praysed of me,
thoughe they be bounde men / I vse them as
free men / and for theyr ioly free hart, I do
not onely promote them in goodes and ry-
ches / but also praise and commende them as
good and honest men. For me thynketh that
an honest man / that is despyous of honour /
doth differre in this poynt from a conetous
man, that for praysse and honour wyll take
payne and put hym selfe in ieoperdie / whan
it is nedefull: and yet kepe hym selfe cleane
from foule lucre. And thus whan ye haue
ones engendred and fastned this affection in
a man / that he oweth you good wyll / and
beareth you good loue and fauour / and that
ye haue brought hym to this poynt, that he
wyll applie his mynde and diligence to do
even as ye wold your selfe, and beside that,
ye

Xenophon

ye haue gotten hym the science, howe euery
worke that is done shalbe moſte profitable/
and made him alſo ſufficiēt and able to rule,
and that he wyl beſide this bring and ſhewe
you the frutes of the grounde none other
wyſe than ye wolde to your ſelfe: whether
nedeth he any thyng els or not, I wyl ſpeke
no moze, for me thynketh that ſuche a man
ſhalde be a verie good and a profitable
ſtewarde and deputie. Socra. But I praye
you good Iſchomachus, do not leaue be-
hynde that parte, whiche we haue ſo lightly
ronne ouer. And what is that, ſayd Iſcho-
machus? Socra. MARY ye ſayde, that the
greateſt poynt of all was to lerne howe e-
uery thyng ſhalde be done, to the ende that
profite therby ſhalde ryſe vnto vs, for other
wyſe ye ſayde, that diligence coude anaple
nothyng / excepte a man knewe what and
howe to do. Iſcho. Do ye byd me to teache
you the ſcience of huſbandry? Forſoth it is
it, ſayd I, that maketh them ryche / that can
wel occupie it / and they that can nat, though
they take neuer ſo moche payne / they lyue
wretchedlye.

Iſcho. Nowe than fyrſt of al ye ſhall heare
howe gentle a ſcience it is. For ſeynge it is
moſte profitable and pleaſant to occupie /
moſt

moste goodlyest, best beloued of god and of men, and besyde that, moste easye to lerne, howe shulde it nat be a gentyll science? For we call all these beaustis gentyll / the whiche be goodly, great, and profitable, and be nat fierce but tame amonge men. So. But me thynketh good Ischomarus / that I haue very well perceyued, that where ye sayde, howe a man muste teache a steward and a deputie, and that ye taught hym to owe you good loue and good wyll, and lyke wyse / that ye wente about to make hym diligent, able to rule, and also ryghtfull: But where ye sayde, that he, whiche wyll be diligent in dede in husbundry, must lerne what is to be done, howe, and in what season, me thynketh we haue ouer passed hit somewhat to quickly and to negligently. Lyke wyse as if ye sayde / that he, the whiche wyll write that that a man speaketh, and rede that that is wyrtten, muste knowe his letters. For he that dyd here this, hath harde nothyng els, but that he must lerne to knowe his letters. But whan he perceyueth, that he is neuer the nerer to knowe what letters do meane. And nowe lyke wyse I beleue very well, that he, the whiche wyll vse diligence in husbundry / must lerne to knowe wel husbundry,
but

Xenophon

But though I beleue and knowe that well,
yet am I neuer the wyser howe to occupye
husbandry. And if I were euen now deter-
mined to falle to husbandry, I wold thynke
I were lyke a phisition / the whiche gothe
about and loketh vpon seke men, yet can he
not tell what is good for them. And ther-
fore to thende I be not suche one, teache me
the very poynt and casse of husbandry. For
sothe good Socrates, sayde he, it is not by
this as by other craftes and sciences / that
he which lerneth them must be a longe tyme
about them / and bestowe moche peyne and
labour in them / er he can do any thyng to
get his lynyng by. Husbandry is nothyng
so harde to lerne: for ye shall lerne it euen
anone lokyng vpon the labourers, and part-
ly by herynge speke of hit / so that if ye wyl
ye may teache hit vnto other. And trewely
other artificers and craftes men do hyde
and kepe priuey to them selfe the best poynts
of theyr sciences, the good husbände
men, he that setteth trees beste / he wyl
haue very great pleasure, if any man be
holde hym, and he that soweth after the
same maner. And if ye aske hym of any
thyng that is well wzought, I am sure he
wyl neuer kepe from you / howe he dyd it.
And

And so good Socrates, husbandry teacheth them that be conuersant in it to be of gentyl maners and disposition. Soc. Forsoth this is a good begynnynge, and nowe I haue harde you tell this moche, it is impossible to stoppe me from inquerpnge of you further therof. And therfore seynge ye saye it is a thynge so easy to lerne, do the rather Bewe hit me. For it is no shame to you to teache that that is easie: but it is rather a great shame to me / if I can it not, specially whan it is so profitable.

And therfore I wylle Bewe vnto you first of all sayde Ischo. that that whiche is the diffynest poynte of all husbandry, as they say whiche dispute of it moste exactly in wordes, and in dede occupie it neuer a whit, is nothynge harde at all. For they say, that he that wylle be a good husbände man / must fyrste knowe the nature of the grounde.

Knowledge
of good
grounde,

So. In dede they seme to say well: For he that doth not knowe, what the grounde wylle brynge forth / I trowe he can not knowe nother what seede he shulde sowe / nor what trees is beste to sette. Ischo. And therfore a man may knowe by an other mannes grounde, what hit wylle brynge forth and what hit wylle not, whanne he seeth
Both

Xenophon

Bothe the frutes and also the trees. And
whan he knoweth it ones, hit is not for his
profitte to stryue agaynste god and nature.
For if a man doth eyther sowe or sette that
that he hath nede of, he is neuer the never to
haue that that is necessarie for hym, excepte
the grounde do in a maner deelyte and take
pleasure bothe to bypunge it forth and to no-
uryshe it. But if he can nat knowe the good-
nes and fertilitie of the grounde by reason
of the idelnes and negligence of them that
haue it in hande: he shall often tymes better
knowe it by some grounde that is nat farre
from it, than of the neighbour that dwelleth
by it. And all though the grounde be vntyl-
led and vnlaboured, yet it sheweth his owne
nature. For that grounde, that bereth good
wyld frutes and wyedes, wyll bypunge
forth, if it be taken hede to and well tyll-
ed, other good frutes and herbes as well as
them. So that they that be not all of the
best sene in husbandry, can well discerne the
nature of the grounde. Socra. For sothe
good Ischomachus, I may be bolde to byde
by this, that a man nedeth not to absteyne
from husbandrye, for feare lest he knowe
not the nature of the grounde. For I do
remembze/ that fishers, whiche be alweys
occupied

occupied in the see; the whiche come not so
 beholde the grounde howe it is, noz walke
 not fapze and softly, but rûne euen throug
 it, whan they se the frutes on the grounde,
 they wpll not stycke to shewe theyr opinion
 of the grounde, whiche is good, and whiche
 is bad / and prapse this, and disprapse that.
 And I se they wpll be communynge often
 tymes with men, that can very good skylle
 in husbondry, and shewe them very many
 thynges touchinge a good grounde. Ischo.
 where than wpll ye haue me to begyn good
 Socrates to declare husbondry vnto you,
 lest I reherse somewhat that ye knowe alre-
 dy, for I perceyue, ye be right expert ther-
 in. So. This me thinketh both profitable
 and a very great pleasure to lerne / and also
 hit belongeth specially to a philosopher to
 knowe, howe I myght, if I wolde, by tyl-
 lynge and laborynge the grounde, haue ve-
 ry moche plenty of barley, rye, wheate, and
 other corne. Ischo. This I trowe ye know
 wel inough, that fallowynge and styrrynge
 of the grounde, helpeth very moche to the
 sowynge. So. Forsoth so I do. Ischo. And
 what if we shulde begynne to fallowe and
 plowe the grounde in wynter. Soc. That
 were nought. For than the erthe shulde be

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all sleemy. Ischo. And what thynke ye in
somer? So. Than it wolde be to harde to
plowgh it. Ischo. Wel than we must nedes
begynne in the sprynge of the yere. So. Ye
mary / for than it is most lykely / that the
grounde openneth and spredeth his owne
strengthe and vertue aboute, whan it is fa-
lloved and tyllled in that tyme. Ischo. Yea
and beside that good Socrates the ponge
wides turned vp so downe at that tyme be
as good to the grounde as any dougynge:
and they be not yet come to that strength /
that the seede of them caste adowne can
growe vp agayne. And I trowe ye knowe
this well inough, that if the fallowinge, and
the tyllynge of the grounde shulde be good,
the grounde must be cleane kepte and deli-
uered from wides, and wel favourdly hea-
ted and warmed of the son. So. We thyn-
keth in very dede it shulde be so. Ischo. And
do ye thike, that that can be better brought
to passe by any other meane / thanne if the
grounde be often tymes stirred in the somer?
So. I knowe very well, that the wides can
never better wither away and drye vp, nor
the grounde be better heated throughe the
heate of the sonne / thanne if the grounde be
ploughed and styrrd in the middes of som-
mer,

mer / and in the myddes of the day. And if
any man do sowe, or dygge the grounde
with his owne hādes, is it not clere inough,
that he also muste seperate asonder the wi-
des from the grounde, and caste the wides
abrode, that they may drye vp, and turne vp
so downe and fyrrre the grounde / that the
soozenes and the rawe watrisbenes of hit
may be warmed and well dzyed vp. Ischo.
Than ye se well good Socrates, howe we
be boith in one opinion touchynge sallowinge
and fyrrynge of the grounde. So. So me
thynketh: And touchynge sowinge, haue ye
any other knowlege or opinion, but that is
the season to sowe, the whiche boith men of
olde antiquite / approuyng it by experience /
and all they, that be nowe, takynge hit of
them / do iudge it best of al. For whan the
somer is ones past, and Septembze cometh
in, al men that be in the worlde do loke vpon
almighty god, that whan it shal be his plea-
sure to sende some rayne & make the grounde
wete and moysty, that they may fal to sow-
inge euen as he commandeth it. Soc. And
for sothe good Ischomachus all the men in
the worlde haue determined by one assente /
that they wyl not sowe, whan the grounde
is dzye. And hit is clere to euery man, that
C. li. they

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they take great lossis and damages / that
wyl go aboute to sowe asoze god byddeth
hem. Ischo. Than in these thynges al we
men do agre. So. For in that that god te-
cheth, it foloweth / that every man agreeth
in it: As for a similitude, Every man thyn-
keth best to weare good furred and wel sy-
ned gownes in wynter / if he be able, and al
so to make good spze, if he haue wodde.
Ischo. Yea but there be many, the whiche
do vary in this touchinge sowinge, whether
it be beste to sowe in the begynnynge, in the
myddes, oz at the later ende. Soc. And
god dothe not sende every yere of one lyke
temperatnes of wether. For some tymes it
is best to sowe in the begynnynge; some ty-
mes in the myddes, some tymes at the later
ende. Ischo. But what thynke ye best gen-
tyll Socrates, whanne so ever a man hath
chosen his sowynge tyme / oz euer moze in
this tyme, oz nowe in this and nowe in that,
whether is it best to sowe moche seede oz li-
tel? So. He thynketh best of all good Is-
chomachus to distribute the seede, wel, ful,
and truly. For I suppose it is a great deale
better to take corne inough euer moze, than
some tymes to moche and sometymes to ly-
tel. And in this poynt also good Socrates
sayde

sayd he, you beinge the lerner do agree with
me the teacher, and ye haue shewed your opi-
nion afoze me. So. But what of that sayde
I/ for in the castynge of the seede there is
moche counnyng? Ischo. In any case good
Socrates, lette vs loke vpon that. For ye
knowe wel, that it must be cast with a mans
hande. So. Forsothe I haue sen it done so.
Ischo. But some can caste it euen, and some
can not. So. well than it lacketh nothyng
els but to exercise the hãde, as harpers and
luters do/ that hit maye folowe the mynde.
Isch. It is very wel sayde: But what if the
grounde be thynner or grosser? So. what
meane you by that? Do ye not take the thin-
ner for the weaker, and the grosser for the
stronger? Ischo. That same meane I. So.
And this wolde I fayne know of you, whe-
ther ye wyl gve as moche seede to the tone
as to the tother, or els whiche of them wyl
ye gve moze vnto? Isch. In the wyne that
is stronge, me thynketh hit behogeth to put
the moze water, and the man that is stron-
ger must beare the greater burthen, if there
be any thinge to be caried, and som men are
fedde and nourished with skleder fare, and
the same herin must be obserued. So. Thike
you not that the grounde waxeth stronger.

Xenophons

if a man do put moze frute in it, like wise as
moxles and hozses do waxe stronger with
cariage / that wolde I desire you to teache
me. Whan Ischomachus herde that, he sayd:
What Socrates ye ieste with me. But yet,
sayde he, take this for a very suretye, that
whanne a man hath sown any seede in the
grounde, loke whan the grounde hath most
comforte of the ayze with wete and moyst-
nes, if the cozne be grene newly risen out of
the erthe, if he styrre and turne it in ageyne,
it is as if it were a sustinance to the groulde,
and getteth as moche strength by it / as if it
had ben donged. But if ye suffre the groulde
continually to bypunge forth frute of the seede,
it is harde for a weake grounde to bypunge
forth moche frute styll: lyke wyse as hit is
hard for a weake sowe to geue sucke and su-
stinace to many pigges, and kepe them fatte
and in good plite whan they waxe great.
So. Ye sey good Ischomachus that ye muste
sowe lesse seede on a weker grounde. Ischo.
So I do in dede good Socrates: and ye
also dyd graunte hit vnto me a litle afoze,
whan ye sayd, that ye thought that the wea-
kest wuld be lest charged. So. But for what
reason good Ischomachus, do ye make dy-
ctes in the cozne felde? Ischo. Ye wotte
wel

wel, that in wynter are many Bowes. So.
 what therof? Ischo. Many therof chance
 many Hurtes: for a great parte of the felde
 is surrounded with water, and the corne co
 ueredde in mudde, and the rootes of moche
 of the corne are worne and washed away
 with the water, and further often tymes by
 reason of the greate abundaunce of water,
 there cometh moche wibes and other harlo
 try, that suppreth & distropeth the corne.
 So. It is lyke inough, that all this shulde
 be. Isc. And thynke ye than, that the corne
 beinge in that takinge / hath not nede to be
 holpe? So. Yes mary. Isch. Than if the
 corne be couered with mudde, what shal we
 do to helpe it? So. Many ease the grounde
 and make it lighter. Ischo. But what if the
 rootis be waped thynne and almoste worne
 away? So. Tha ye must cast to moze erthe
 that it maye take roote and growe agayne.
 Isch. But what if the wibes and other har
 lotry sucke vp the moysture from the corne,
 lyke as the drone bees, the whiche beinge
 them selves vnprofitable do robbe awaye &
 eate vp the bees vitayles, that they had set
 vp for to worke with? So. Many the wibes
 and harlotry must be plucked and cut away,
 lyke wise as the drone bees are boyded out
 of

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of the hyues . Iſcho. Thynke you than that
we do not make the dyches and ſloughes in
the feldeſ for a good cauſe ? So . Forſothe
ſo it is, but I thike nowe in my mynde good
Iſchomachus, what a thyng it is to bynge
in ſimilitudes & likeneffis . For ye haue mo-
ued me moze a greate deale / and made me
moze displeaſed ageynſt theſe wibes, whan
ye ſpake of the dyne bees, than whan ye
ſpake of the wibes them ſelfes . But nowe
after this ſayd I, harueſt ſeaſon wyl come/
wherfoze I pray you tell me if ye haue any
thyng to teche me in this matter. Iſcho. So
I wyl, if ye do not ſewe your ſelfe, that ye
knowe it as wel as I. This ones ye knowe
that the corne muſte alway be reaped . Soc.
what elſe? Iſch. Whether than muſt ye ſtāde
to reape it with the wynde oz agaynſte the
wynde ? So. Not agaynſt the wynde, for it
wolde be a great payne, as I thynke bothe
for the eyes and alſo for the hādes to reape
agaynſte the eares blowne downe with the
wynde . Iſcho. And how wyl ye cutte it, at
the very toppe, oz euen by the grounder? So.
If the ſtalke be ſhort, I wyl cutte it a ſowe
that there mape be ſtrawe inougħ : But if it
be very hie, I thynke better to cutte it in the
myddell, to the intent that nother the theſe
ſhere

To reape
corne.

Here noz the fanners / Shall take moze payne
 in payne than nedeth, and that that remayneth,
 I thynke if it be burned / hit wyl do
 the grounde very moche good, and if it be
 layde with the donge it wyl fyl and encrese
 it. Ischomachus. Do ye se nowe frende So-
 crates, howe ye be taken in the very dede
 doinge, that ye knowe as well as I. what
 longeth to reappnye? So. In saythe I am
 aserde lest it be so in dede: And nowe wyl
 I se like wise whether I can threshbe or not.
 Ischo. This ye knowe well that horses do
 threshbe corne. Socra. why wylde I not,
 and not onely horses but also mowles and
 open sphe wise? Ischo. But howe can these
 beaſtis ſtampe well and threshbe the corne
 euen as they wylde good Socrates? Soc.
 It is clere, that is by the reason of them,
 whiche haue the charge of the threshinge.
 For they do enermore turne and ſpawre and
 put vnder theyr feet that that is vntreſ-
 shed / and so they muſt nedes make hit enen,
 and make an ende of hit as quickly as may
 be. Ischo. Then as for this buſynes, ye
 knowe it as well as I. Socra. Nowe after
 this good Ischomachus, lette vs cleanse the
 corne and wythnowe hit. Ischo. Telle me
 thā good Socrates, do ye knowe this, that

To threshbe
 corne

Xenophons

If ye Begynne to winnowe it in that parte of
the wyndowynge place, where the wynde is
ageynst you, that the chaffe wyl be scatered
abrode througħ al the winnowynge place?
So. It muste nedes. Ischo. Than it muste
nedes as wel fal vpon the corne. So Peri-
ty it is no smal poynte to make the chaffe to
go beyonde the corne in a voyde rowme of
the wyndowynge place. But if a man begyn
to wyndowe vnder the winde, or a syde halfe
of hit, than it is clere, that al the chaffe wyl
vynde to the place that is ordeyned for hit.
Ischo. But whan ye haue clenſed the corne
euen to the myddyl of the wyndowing place,
whether than, the corne beinge thus scate-
red abroad, wyl ye wyndowe the remanant/
or wyl ye put ſpasse to gether on a heape as
narrowly as can be al that ener is clenſed? So.
Forsoth I wyl first put to geder on a heape
all that is clenſed, lest peradventure the chaffe
be caried about the wyndowing place, wher
by I shulde be fayne to wyndowe twyse one
thyng. Ischo. Nowe than gentyl Socra-
tes, ye may teche an other man, if ye wyl,
how he shal sooneſt gette his corne clenſed.
So. In good sayth I had almost forgotte,
that I coude all this a greate while ago.
And nowe I caste in my mynde, whether I
hane

haue forgotht my selfe, that I can playe on
 a harpe / play vpon recorders / peynt / and
 carue, and other sciēces. For there was ne-
 ner man, that taught me these no more tha
 to be a husbāde man. And I se as well o-
 ther men worke in theyr sciēces as husbāde
 men laboure the grounde. Ischo. And dyd
 not I tel you but a litle afoze, that this sci-
 ence of husbādry is wonderous pleasant and
 very easie to lerne? So. I knowe very wel
 good Ischomachus / that I vnderstode and
 coude al maner of thynges, that do lōge to
 sowinge / but I haue forgotht my selfe that
 I coude them. But the settinge of trees
 sayde I, is that any poynte of husbādry?
 Isch. Yes mary. So. How happeneth than
 that I knewe wel al suche thynges as lōge
 to earpyng and sowynge / and am ignoraunt
 in that that longeth to plantynge of trees?
 Ischo. Be ye ignorant in dede? So. I must
 nedis be, seinge I know not in what grounde
 a man shulde set a tree / nor howe depe / nor
 of what length / nor what breade it be sette
 in / nor whan it is in the grounde how it shal
 best growe and come vp. Ischo. Wel than
 lerne that that ye knowe not. I am sure ye
 haue seen what pyttes they make for trees
 that do sette them? So. That I haue very
 many

Settinge
 of trees.

Xenophons

many tymes. Ischo. And dyd ye euer se any
of them deper than thre fote? So. No mary
I / no: yet deper than two fote and a halfe.
Ischo. And as for the bredde dyd you euer se
any broder than thre fote? So. Forsoth and
god / I neuer sawe none past two foote and
a halfe brode. Isch. Now answere me this
agayne, Dyd ye euer se any of lesse altitude
than two foote? So. In very deoe I neuer
sawe none of lesse altitude thā two fote and
a halfe. For if the plantes were but Balow
set, they wolde soone be wrythted vp. Ischo.
Than it is apparat inough to you good So
crates / that they dyge the pyttes to set in
trees, no dyper than two foote and a halfe,
no: no broder than two foote and a halfe.
So. It must nedes be so, seinge it is so clere.
Isch. But touchyng the grounde / do ye knowe
whiche is drie & which is wete, if ye se it? So.
He thynketh the grounde, that lyeth about
Licabect? / or any other that is lyke vnto it,
is drye grounde: And that is called a wete
grounde / the whiche lieth aboute Phaleria
cus, ful of maris al aboute / and any other
lyke vnto it. Ischo. Whether than wyll ye
digge vp a depe pitte to sette in trees in the
drye grounde or in the wete? So. In the drye
grounde verily. for if ye shulde make a depe
pytte

yfste in the wete grounde / ye shulde fynde
 water : and than ye coulde not sette it in the
 water. Isch. He thynketh ye say very wel.
 And whā the pittes be dygged vp, ye know
 what trees be mete for both groundes ? So.
 Very wel. Ischo. And if ye wolde that the
 tree, whiche ye do sette / shulde growe and
 come vp well fauorably, whether thynke ye
 it wyl better sprynge and waxe mighty and
 strōge / if ye sette vnderneath erthe that hath
 ben labored and occupied afore, or els suche
 as hath ben alwayne vncoccupied. So. It is
 clere inough sayd I, that it wyl growe and
 come vp better by the reason of the erthe oc-
 cupied than of the grounde vncoccupied. Isc.
 Than there muste some erthe be put vnder-
 neth ? So. wher shulde it not ? Isc. But whe-
 ther thynke ye, that the vyne brāunche, the
 whiche ye sette, wyl gether rootis better if
 ye sette it streyght vpright, or if ye set it cro-
 ked vnder the grounde, so that it be lyke this
 greke lettre, Y, turned vp set downe ? So.
 Mary euen so. For than there shall be the
 moze rootis in the erthe / wherby the plante
 shall stande the faster, and so many the mo-
 branches shall sprynge vp. Ischo. wel than
 in this matter we haue both one opiniō. But
 whether wyl ye no moze but caste the erthe
 to

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to the plante that ye set, ozels wil pe treade
a rāme it hard downe? So. Forsoth I wyl
trede and stampe it harde to, for els it were
ieoperdy lest the rayne wolde lightly perce
in, and so rotte and marre the rootis / ozels
the sonne dzyng the erthe away from the
rootis of the plante, shulde lewse and vnfas
ten it, and so kyll it. Ischo. wel than good
Socrates we be bothe of one opimion tou
chyng settynge of vines. So. And Shall I
sette a spygge tree after the same maner?
Ischo. Yes I trow, and al other trees lyke
wylse. For if ye can sette vines wel, what o
ther settynge is ther but that ye may take it
vpon you lyke wylse? So. But howe shulde
we sette olyue trees good Ischomachus? I
pray you pzone afoze any thyng / whether
I can any skylle therin. Ischo. Ye se howe
there is a good depe pytte digged for an o
lyue tree, I wote well ye coude not choose
but se hit, seinge they be digged euen by the
high wayes syde. Also ye se howe the very
stockes of the olyues be sette in the settynge
place. And farther ye se howe there is clay
lapde vpon the toppes of them: And howe
of all trees that be planted, there are none
couered aboue / but only the same. So. All
this I se well. Isc. And whan ye se it / what
shulde

Wulde be the let, that ye wuld not knowe it :
excepte parauenture ye can nat tell howe to
clappe a Belle fast to the clay, that is set on
the toppe therof : So. By my saythe, of all
this that ye haue spoken, there is nothyng
but I know it. And now I cast in my minde
agayne, what is the cause / that whan ye
asked me but a littel afoze in generall, whe-
ther I coude set trees, I sayde no. For me
thought I coude not tell / how a man wulde
set trees. But after ye began to enquere of
me euery thyng by it selfe, I answered you
accozding to your mynde, and to your owne
opinion, the whiche be called the moste per-
fecte husbande man, that is now at this day
alyue. Is not my chance good, Ischomachus
sayde I, askyng a maner of teachyng : For
I haue lerned & can wel nowe euery thyng
by it selfe / what so euer ye haue demanded
of me. For ye leade me by suche thynges /
as I am skilled in & vnderstande, vnto suche
thynges as I perceyued not : and so ye per-
swade and make me beleue that I knowe
them as well as the tother. Ischo. Well,
thynke ye, that if I asked you after the same
maner touchinge syluer oz golde / whiche is
good and whiche is badde, that I coude per-
swade you, that ye be a good trier of golde
and

Xenophons

and spker? And agayne, I coude not perswade you, if I asked you neuer so moche, that ye can play vpon recorders, or that ye can pynthe, or do any suche thynges? Soc. Paraventure yes. ffor ye haue perswaded me, that I haue well the science of husbundry: and yet I knowe wel, that there was neuer any body that taught me that science. Ischo. It is not so good Socrates: ffor I haue tolde you a praty while ago, that husbundry is so pleasant and so familiar a science, that they, the whiche do eyther se hit, or here tel of hit, be euen by and by well lerned in it. And also it sheweth many thynges it selfe ffor a man to lerne, howe to order it best. ffor euen at the first the vine, the whiche crepeth vp vpon the trees, if there be any nere hande it, sheweth, that it wolde be holpen vp and sustented. And whan it spreadeth abroad his leaues and bzaunches, the grapes beinge yet but veri tender, it shewith, that in that season hit wolde haue shadowe made there vnto hit, where as the heate of the sonne speth. soore vpon it. And whan hit is tyme ffor the grapes to waxe ripe & swete the whiche is caused only by the heate of the sonne, it letteth the leaues fall, to teache the husbade men, that it wolde be sightned and eased

eased, that the frute maye the better wape
 rype. And whan that by the reason it hath
 brought forth moche frute, and some ar rype
 and some not, it sheweth, that those clo-
 sters, that be rype, must be gedered, like as
 on fygge trees they muste be taken downe/
 that be rype and redy to be gethered. Soc.
 Howe can this be, good Isehomacus, if hus-
 bandry be so easy to lerne, and euery man
 knoweth what is to be done, as well one
 as an other, that they haue not a lyuinge by
 hit al a lyke? For some haue great plentye
 and lyue welthily, and other som haue scak-
 ly so moche as they nede, and be in dette to
 other men? Isch. Mary I wyl tel you good
 Socrates, hit is nother the knowlege nor
 lacke of knowlege of husbände men/ that
 maketh some of them riche and som powre.
 For ye shal not lightly here suche a tale go
 about, that suche a mans house is vndone,
 bicause he hath not sowed euen: or bycause
 that he hath nat well sette and planted his
 trees: or bicause he knewe not what ground
 was good for vynea, he hath sette his in a
 naughty ground: or bicause he knewe not,
 that it was good to followe the grounde be-
 fore he did sowe it: or bicause he knew not,
 that it was good to dounge hit. But this ye
 sh map

Xenophons

may here often tymes very wel, This man
getteth no croppe on his grounde this yere.
For he hath made no prouisyon to gette hit
sowed, or to gette it douned. And agayne:
This man getteth no wyne. For he nother
careth to plante any vines in his grounde/
nor seeth nothyng to those, that be alredy
planted, to make them byrge forth some
frute. This man hath no oyle. This man
hath no fyggis: For he wyll take no payne
nor applie his mynde to haue any. These be
the causes good Socrates, that make one
husbāde man to differre from an other, and
to be also vnlyke in substance and in riches/
a great deale more/ than if any of them seemed
to be experter in his workes and businesis.
And of the capitaynes of warre lyke wise,
there be many, the whiche haue equally good
wytt and very good sight in suche thynges
as do longe to warre, and yet there be some
of them better and some worse/ and that is
throughe the diuersite of takynge hede and
of diligence. For suche thynges as all capi-
taynes do knowe, and also the most part of
them, that were neuer in that dignite, some
capitaynes do them and some not. As thus.
All they knowe, that it is better for them,
that shal leade an army throughe their enne-
mies

mies lande to marche forwarde in good order and array: that they may be alway ready to fight, if nede be. And yet som of them that knowe this very well do hit, and some do not. Also all they knowe / that it is beste to kepe watches and scoutwaches bothe by nyght and by day: And yet some of them se well to, that it be surely kept, and some do not. Agayne / whan they leade theyr army thzough narrowe places / ye shall all mosse fynde none, but that he knoweth, it is better to pzeuente theyr enemies be tymes than to late. And yet some of them do theyr diligence, that they may so do, and some do not. And lyke wyse of doungyng. Euery man sayth / it is very good and necessary for the grounde to dounge hit. And they se / howe men may haue it bothe of bestis in his owne kynd, and also fynde other meanes to haue it, and make easily a very great deale therof. And yet some take hede, that hit be gathered, and some let it passe, and care not for hit. Yet god sendeth rayne from aboue, and al maner of holowe grounde receybeth hit / and kepeth it / and wapeth a pounddell with it. The grounde byngeth forth al maner of wydes and naughty harlotry. And he that wyll sow, muste spast rydde and purge the

h.ii. grounde

Xenophons

grounde, and suche wydes and thynges as
he gethereth out of the lande if he cast them
into the water / in p2oces of tyme it wold be
as good and as holssome to the grounde, as
any donginge. for what wydes be there, or
what ground is it, that wyl not becom doilge
in very dede, if it be cast in to stādpyng wa-
ter? Moze ouer what remedy is there, if
the grounde be to wete to some in hit? or to
sooze to set trees in it? Euery mā knoweth,
that the water muste be voyded out by ma-
kyng of dytches and sloughes pourposely
therfoze: and how the soozenes is minished
and mitigated, if all maner of thynges / the
whiche be not sooze / whether they be drye
or wete / be myngled ther with. And some
husbandes take good hede to this, and some
regarde it not. But if a man knowe neuer a
whittle, what the grounde wyl bzyng forth,
nor can se nother frute nor tree in it / nor
speke with no man / that shall tell hym the
trouth of hit: is it not farre a great deale
easier to haue a p2ose of hit, than eyther of
a horse or a man? for that that it sheweth,
it is not shewed falsely and colozably: but
tilled it sheweth the very trouth / without
any faynyng / what it can bzyng forth /
and what not. And forsothe me thynketh
that

that the grounde doth best examyne, which
be good / and whiche be vnt crysty husban-
des, in that that it setteth forth al maner of
thynges so easy to be lerned, and so soone to
be knowen. For it is not in husbandry as it
is in other craftes / that they, the whiche
do not worke, may excuse them selves, and
sey that they can not skyppe to do it: But ene-
ry man knoweth, that if the grounde be wel
tylled and husbandly handled, it sheweth vs
pleasure a gayne for it. And surely husban-
dry is it / that best proueth a mans vnlusty
cozage and sluggish disposition. For there
is no man can perswade hym selfe, that a
man can lyue without suche thynges as
be necessary. But he that hath no science /
wherby he may gette his lyuynge, nor wyl
not fall to husbandry: it is clere / he is ey-
ther a sturte foole / or els he purposeth to
gette his lyuynge by robbing and thelyng /
or els by begginge. More ouer, sayde he,
it made greatly to the matter, concernynge
the gettyng or losynge by husbandry, that
whan they haue many labozers and seruā-
tes, that the tene taketh good hede, that his
worke men be sette to theyr worke in due
season and tyme, and the tother doth not.
For that man is better than ten other / that

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falleth to his worke in season. And that mā
is farre worse than an other, the whiche suf
fretth his worke men to leaue theyr worke
and go theyr way ouer tymely. And as for
betwene hym, that suffretth his worke men
and labozers to trisyll away the day, and
hym that wyll not, there is as greate diffe
rence, as betwene the holle worke finis
shed and the halfe of hit: Lyke wyse as in
iozneyinge by the way in fyfty myle space/
two men, whiche go bothe one waye, and
though they be bothe as swyfte, as holle/
as ponge, and as lusty the tone as the to
ther: yet the tone shall ouer go the tother.
xxx. myle in a day, if the tone goth on his
iourney lustily, and the tother for slouth
the cherishinge of hym selfe, resteth by the way
besydes springes and fountaynes, and see
keth for shadowes and softe wyndes to re
fresh the hym with. Lyke wyse in workynge
there is greate oddes, whan a man doth ap
plye lustily his worke, and whan he dothe
not, and rather fyndeth excuses, why he
shulde not worke, and suffereth his folke e
uery daye to trifle forth the tyme. And as
for to worke wel and diligently, or to worke
nought and negligently, there is as great
difference betwene these two thynges, as
is

is Betwene hym that woꝛketþ and hym that
woꝛkethe neuer a whytte. For when they
go aboute to cense the Synes from wydes
and harlotry, if they dygge in suche wyse,
that therby growe vp mo and greater wi-
des than dydde befoze, why maye it not be
sayde, that they were idel and woꝛought ne-
uer a whytte. And therfoze these be the thyn-
ges, by the whiche many mens householde
be a greatte deale rather vndone, than for
lacke of science oz of great knowlege. For
a man that is at great costis and charges in
his house, and can not gette as moche, no-
ther by his rentes, noz by his husbandry,
as wyl fynde hym and his meyny: it is no
maruayle, if in the stede of great plenty and
riches, he fall in to extreme pouertie. But
vnto suche men as wyl diligentely applye
them selfe to husbandry, and increase theyr
substaunce and woꝛtely waye riche therby,
my father Bewed somtyme a good pzecept,
the whiche also he taught vnto me. He cou-
seiled me, that I shuld neuer bye that ground
the whiche hath ben well laboured and tyll-
led, But suche a grounde, as remayned vnl-
laboured and untillled, either thꝛough theyr
negligence, that owed it, ozels bicause they
were not able to do it. For the ground that is

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wel tyllled and dight, wyl cosse moche moze money, and yet hit is than euen at the beste : And the grounde / that can wape no better, can not make a man to haue so moche pleasure, and to reioyce so moche / as the tother doth, whiche wapeth better and better. For he thought, that all maner of goodes / whether it be sonde oz catell, the whiche do encrease and wape better / causethe a man to haue moze pleasure and ioye in it. And there is nothyng, that increaseth moze than doth that grounde, the whiche laye befoze vntylled & vndight, and nowe is waped good and frutesfull. And be ye sure of this good Socrates, that we haue often tymes made moche lande, that we haue bought a greate deale moze worthe than the pprice that hit was bought for at the fyrst. And this cast, that is so notable and so profitable, is so easy to lerne, that nowe ye haue ones harde it / ye can it as well as I, & ye may teche it vnto other, if ye lyst. But as for my father, he neuer lerned hit of none other man, nor neuer spent greatte stude to synde it out : But bicause his minde was greatly set vpon husbandry, and also he had a pleasure to labour, he sayde, he despyed to haue suche a grounde, that both he myght haue somewhat to

to do, and also that the profite commynge
of hit myght reioyce hym. For me thynketh
good Socrates, that of all the Atheniens,
my fathers mynde was moſte ſet vpon huſ-
bandry, euen of his owne nature. Socra.
And whan I harde that, I asked him: whe-
ther dyd your father kepe ſtyll to him ſelfe
all the lande that he occupied, or dyd he ſell
any of hit, if he coude get moche money for
it? Iſch. Yes mary he dyd ſelle ſome of it
nowe and than: immediatly after he wolde
bye an other pece, that ſape vntylled and
yndighte, bicauſe his mynde was ſo moche
ſet to labour and to huſbandrye. So. For
ſothe good Iſchomachus, ye ſhewe me here
a maruailous deſire and affection, that your
father had to huſbandrye, none other wyſe
as me thynketh, than ſome marchauntes
myndes be ſet vpon wheate. For marchant
men by the reaſon that theyr hartes is ſoze
fixed vpon wheate, where ſo euer they here
that there is moſt wheate, thether wyll they
in any wyſe reſozte, and wyll not ſtycke for
daunger to paſſe any ſee what ſo euer it be.
And whan they haue boughte vp as moche
therof as they can get, they ſpype it in the
ſelfe ſame ſpy that they ſayle in them ſelfe,
and ſo bzing it home. And whan they haue

H.B.

nede

Xenophons

nede of money, I trow they do not sell it a way rassely, not carynge in what place, as though they desired to be lightly dispatched therof: But they bynge it thither to sell, where they here, that wheate is at a great price, and where as men wolde very fayne haue it. Ischo. wel Socrates ye ieste with me: But yet me thynketh he loueth the masons crafte neuer the worse, that buyldeth houses and selleth them, and maketh newe agayne afterwarde. Soc. By my saythe I swere to you good Ischomac^s, I beleue you very wel, in that ye thynke, that euery man loneth best, and setteth his mynde most vpon that thynge, wherby he thynketh to gette any great profite. But nowe I consider in my mynde, howe wel al your communicacion hath serued to the purpose and ground of this matter. For your grounde and begynnyng was, that the science of husbandry is soonest and best lerned of all other sciences: And now by the reason of that that ye haue sayd, I am vtterly perswaded, that it is so. Forsoth sayd Ischomachus, hit is so in very dede. But as for that thynge that is egally common to al mennes dedes, whether it be in the exercise of husbandry, or in the ordering of an house, or in the gouernynge of a citie

a Citie, or in the knowelege and science of
feates of warre, I graunte you very well
that there be some men, that haue a far bet-
ter witte, a farre better cast and policie, and
knowe better howe to rule and commande,
than some other do. Like as in a galee whā
they be on the see, and muste dzpue as farre
with oozes in a daye, as they shulde sayle,
there be some, that be sette to comforte and
cozage them, the which haue so good grace
both in their wordes and i their dedes, that
they so quicken and encorage men, that they
laboure with all their verry hartes. And
there be other some so grosse and so rude,
that they wyl be thowse as lōge in makynge
of theyr viage, as the tother were. And as
for the tother, they come downe russhynge
merely sweatynge and pzeysynge one an o-
ther. And as for these felowes they come
downe leyslerly, and they neuer sweate for
the matter, they hate the maister of the ga-
ley, and he agayne hateth them. And after
the same maner there be some Capitaynes,
that do differ one from an other. For there
be some, that can not bynge it to passe, to
make their sondiours gladde to take peyne,
nor to put them selves in ieopardie, but euen
very than whan they can not chose, but they
wyl

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wyl rather soft them selves, and take it for
a great pzeise, that they maye contrary the
capitaynes mynde, uoꝛ the capitaynes can
not instructe theym to be asshamed, if any
thyng misfortune, that is woꝛthye of re-
buke. But there be other, whiche be good,
wyse, and politike capitaynes, the whiche if
they take in hand the selfe same men, oꝛ pa-
rauenture other, as they do often tymes,
they wyl make them to be asshamed to do
any thyng, that shulde tourne to theyꝛ re-
buke, and to thynke that it is best for them,
bothe to be obediente every one of them by
hym selfe, and whan nede requireth to take
peyne, gladly to do hit all to gether with a
very good wyl. And lyke wise as there be
some priuate men, the which of theyꝛ owne
nature be gladde to take labour and payne,
So a good capitayne engendzeth this affe-
ction in all his hostis mynde, that they be
gladde to be put to payne, and they coueite
nothyng els so moche, as to be pzeysed for
some greatte and notable acte, done in the
sight of their capitayne. And what so euer
capitaynes they be, that haue suche men of
warre vnder them, beryng to them warde
so good mynde and fauoure, I saye they in
very dede be myghty and stronge: and not
they

they, the whiche haue a greate myghty body, and can throwe a dart, and shotte very wel: Nor they that haue good horses, and can runne with a speare and iuste afoze any man: but they that can brynge theyr souldiours in to suche affection and beleue, that they wolde gladly folowe them throughe fyre and water, and throughe all maner of daunger. Suche men maye well be called hardy and valyant, that haue so many bold men redy and prest to do what so euer they commaunde. And hit maye well be sayde, that he goth forward with a myghty ströge hande, that hath so many handes folowynge hym redy at his pleasure. And he may be called a very great man in dede, the whiche doth very greatte actes, moze by prudence and wisdom, than throughe the strength of his body. Moze ouer whether he be a debite or a ruler, that can make men redy and gladde to applie theyr worke, and brynge them to continue well in hit, they be those, that shall soonest get goodes and growe to great substaunce. And as for the maister, if he be suche a man that can well punish the laborers, that do nought, and reward them that do very wel, yet whan he cometh to the workes, if the laborers do make no Bewe of it,

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of it, I wyll not set greatly by hym: But he
the whiche whan they do se hym, they be all
moued and styrred vp, and haue a greatte
corage and desire one to do better than ano-
ther, and a feruente mynde to be praysed a-
boue al, I say that that man hath som thige
of the disposition longynge to a kynge. And
me thynketh it is a very great poynthe in all
maner of thynge, that be done by the helpe
of men, as well as it is in husbandry. And
to obteyne hit, verily I wyll not saye, as I
haue done in husbandrye, that a man shall
lerne it, if he ones seeth it, or hereth it tolde,
but I say, he that wyll be able to do it, had
nede to be very wel instructed, and eke to be
of a good gentyll nature, and that is mooste
of all to haue a very great grace and gyste
of god. For me thynketh this grace cometh
not all of man, to rule and gouerne so, that
men very gladly wyll be obedient, but it is
rather a special giste of almighty god: and
he graunteth it vnto them that be indowed
with vertue and temperaunce. But to rule
men tyrnnonusly against their wylls, he put-
teth the vnto it (as me semeth) þ he iudgeth
worthy to lyue thus in the worlde, as they
say, that Tantalus dryueth forth the tyme
in helle, beinge alway aserde to dye thowse.

FINIS.

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strete, by Thomas Berthelet
printer to the kynges
most noble grace.

an. M. D.

xxij.

Cum priuilegio.

*Non dabo tibi librum
Et multo ad tempus*